

Encounter with the Eruv:
A Project Towards the City of Open Enclosures

by

Miriam Levy

Bachelor of Architecture
Pratt Institute, 1997

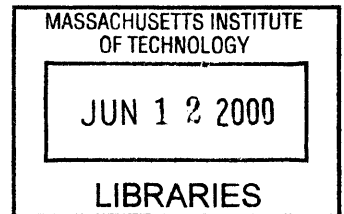
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN ARCHITECTURE STUDIES
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

JUNE 2000

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Reader: Linda Pollak
Professor of Landscape Architecture

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the physical and symbolic spaces of the eruv through a textual and visual engagement. An eruv is a synthetic single private domain to facilitate carrying in a city, which is otherwise only allowed within a private domain on Shabbat in orthodox Judaism. An eruv is created by constructing a continuous boundary and the symbolic pooling of resources of the community. Both the eruv's origin in Jewish law as well as contemporary analysis provide the framework for my own interpretation. The thesis bridges across several disciplines – from architecture, art, Judaism, anthropology, feminism, and cultural studies – to find an approach which opens this 2000 year old tradition to a contemporary encounter. The eruv's physical and intangible spaces are discussed as paradoxical spaces to create a site of encounter. In relationship to the existing and proposed readings, the contemporary significance of *eruvim* (pl. of eruv), not only for a Jewish community, but for any individual or community, local or foreign, is explored. The thesis discusses notions of a nomadic navigation of space, a symbiotic construction of belonging, an ethics of foreignness, and a site for encounters. More traditional interpretations that are often based on dyadic systems are contrasted with explorations of the topic in relationship to paradoxical spaces, so that a space for diverse identities and their coalition emerges. My encounter and photographs of the Boston eruv relate the mental spaces to the physical architecture and reveal its minimal physicality within its urban context. Through photographs and text the eruv is recognized as architecture, and opens it to broader discussion of space and meaning. My research increases the presence of the eruv and positions the existing and proposed spaces for adaptation and transformation by others who might need an eruv that has yet to be designed.

Thesis Supervisor: Krzysztof Wodiczko

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Acknowledgements

My thanks go to my thesis committee Krzysztof Wodiczko, Linda Pollak, and William Porter, who have provided me with their thoughtful supervision, encouragement, and criticism, without which my ambitions would not have been fulfilled. They have set examples through their outstanding work, illuminating a path that meanders between theory and praxis. Their courses and the discussions with them have opened doors to new worlds for me.

I am also grateful to Edith Ackerman, Ellen Davis, Yael Halewi-Wise, Jessi Hefter, Shai Held, Robert Klapper, Susan Lees, Karl Rosenberg, and Joel Steiner, who discussed and helped me with various parts of my project and provided thoughtful comments and advice.

I would like to thank my friends at MIT and around the world, for their friendship and support, even in times of scarce presence. It has been my privilege to develop intellectually and personally with them at my side.

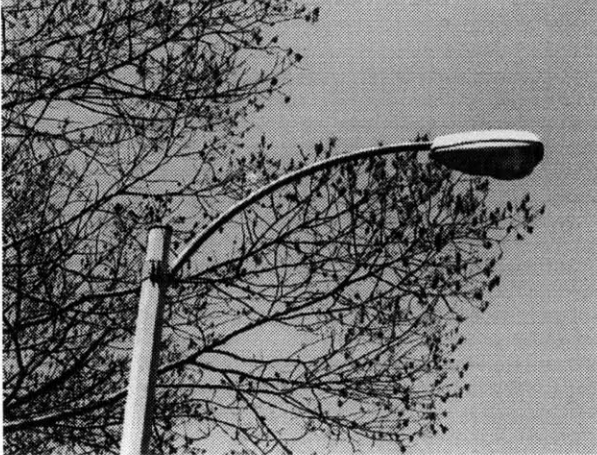
My deepest thanks go to Leo Lipis, my best friend, lover, unofficial adviser, and editor. My appreciation is immense for his careful editing of my English, and the many discussions we had about writing and clear thinking. More importantly, he is a wonderful companion for life.

My special thanks go to my family, who with their love and support are always there for me. My grandparents unconditionally believe in me. My sister has been my closest friend since birth, and nurtures my being with her friendship. My greatest appreciation is reserved for my parents, who have supported me in all my decisions, and provided me with invaluable advice when it was not clear which road to take. They encouraged me to follow my passions and become at the same time a well-educated individual. My gratitude to them cannot be adequately expressed.

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Perspectives on the Eruv



The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation. The 'right' to signify from the periphery of authorized power and privilege does not depend on the persistence of traditions; it is resourced by the power of tradition to be re-inscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those who are in the 'minority'.

Homi K. Bhabha¹

The thesis examines the physical and symbolic spaces of the eruv through a textual and visual engagement. An eruv is a synthetic single private domain to facilitate carrying in a city, which is otherwise only allowed within a private domain on Shabbat in orthodox Judaism. An eruv is created by constructing a continuous boundary and the symbolic pooling of resources of the community. Both the eruv's origin in Jewish law as well as contemporary analysis provide the framework for my own interpretation. The thesis bridges across several disciplines – from architecture, art, Judaism, anthropology, feminism, and cultural studies – to find an approach which opens this 2000 year old tradition to a contemporary encounter. The eruv's physical and non-tangible spaces are discussed as paradoxical spaces to create a site of encounter. In relationship to the existing and proposed readings, the contemporary significance of Eruvin (pl. of eruv), not only for a Jewish community, but for any individual or community, local or foreign, is explored. The thesis discusses notions of a nomadic navigation of space, a symbiotic construction of belonging, an ethics of foreignness, and a site for encounters. More traditional interpretations that are often based on dyadic systems are contrasted with explorations of the topic in relationship to paradoxical spaces, so that a space for diverse identities and their coalition emerges. My encounter and photographs of the Boston eruv relate the mental spaces to the physical architecture and reveal its minimal physicality within its urban context. Through photographs and text the eruv is recognized as architecture, and opens it to broader discussion of space and meaning. My research increases the presence of the eruv and positions the existing and proposed spaces for adaptation and transformation by others who might need an eruv that has yet to be designed.

The Eruv

An eruv² is the construction of a single private domain often including an entire (or several) neighborhood within the urban landscape. In orthodox Judaism, one is allowed to carry anything within a private domain such as one's home, but one is not allowed to carry in a public domain or between domains on Shabbat. In order to allow carrying between domains, acts which include pushing strollers or wheelchairs, an eruv is constructed, amalgamating the public and private domains inside it into a single domain that is both private and communal. An eruv is created by constructing a continuous physical or symbolic boundary around an area and the symbolic pooling of resources of the community inside the area by setting aside designated food, usually bread or *Matzah*, which then belongs to all members of the community. The boundary of the eruv constructs a symbolic house, which, in conjunction with the communal food, creates a place of belonging in the public sphere independent of a particular geographical location; the eruv can be deployed in any place of residence.

The law that forbids the carrying between domains is part of a sum of laws that are designed to create a spirit of Shabbat as a time of rest. This concept has then been translated into laws that govern actions, which in turn take place in space. In order to alleviate the restrictions on the actions, the space in which it takes place is altered: the streets as a public domain are transformed by the eruv boundary and the communal food into a private domain, in which carrying is allowed. By changing something that is twice removed from the original concept, the concept itself can still be honored.

According to the *Halacha*, the Jewish legal code, a private domain³ is an area that is completely enclosed by physical or symbolic walls. Walls have been defined as separating elements, though they can have door openings that allow for passage, which make Eruvin completely permeable. A doorway [*Tzurat HaPesach*] is made up of two door posts and an overhead lintel. The concept of a continuous enclosure constructed by a wall is then applied to the urban fabric. In medieval times, when cities were completely walled in, the city wall was sometimes considered an eruv. In contemporary cities, existing depressions or walls in the urban topography, like fences, embankments, highways, building facades, etc., are used for the walls and the gaps between these walls are closed with doorframes. Small breaches in existing boundaries, for example an overpass over a highway that is part of the boundary, are closed by constructing a symbolic doorframe over the overpass. If the gaps between walls are several miles long, one symbolic doorframe joins the next one until the gap closes. For those rows of doorframes, existing poles, like telephone, electricity or light poles, are used for the door-posts and a wire or strong twine stretches between them to symbolize the door lintel. By means of the eruv, mundane elements of the streetscape are transformed into walls with doorframes – creating a building, a home for the local Jewish community.

The eruv is only “in force” from the appearance of three stars on Friday to the appearance of three stars on Saturday, and although its parts remain at their position during the week, it does not unite the different domains during the week, according to Jewish law. It only defines the space inside the eruv as a single private domain on Shabbat. Except during Shabbat, Jewish law differentiates the spaces inside it into public and private domains, primarily by the character of their enclosure. Although the Jewish public and private domains do not completely overlap with areas we designate independent of Judaic criteria as public or private,⁴ which are more diffuse at their edges, for our criteria they have large areas in common. For the remainder of the paper, the terms public and private domains refer to the Jewish definitions of the spaces, while the terms public and private sphere refer to the “common” definition of the space.



The concept of the eruv was most probably created during King Solomon’s rule⁵ while the Jews as a people lived in their own country, Israel. This political situation was exceptional; the Jewish people have been placeless during the majority of their history. It might be that this spatial expression (the eruv) was sustained because even the Jews, who consider the text as their alternative homeland, have an especially strong need to connect the religion to spaces and places. The laws of Eruvin have been interpreted and adapted to the prevailing conditions by the rabbis since King Solomon and have been written down in the *Halacha*, the Jewish legal code. These laws in turn have been adapted locally and for example pictorial guides⁶ published in the last fifty years in America explain the translation of the original law into contemporary architecture, adapted to the American urban and suburban condition.

Eruvin vary over time and place, as they have to adapt to the pre-existing topography at any given place. Despite the differences in appearance and contextual meaning, there are some general concepts that all Eruvin share as they origin from the same laws. I will discuss Eruvin in general based on sources from Germany from the seventeenth century until the second world war, American sources from the twentieth century and from sources related to the London eruv which has been planned for the last ten years. The discussion will not be fixed to a particular location or time but will rather bring out particular examples whenever they help clarify an argument. In addition to this more general discussion of Eruvin, a discussion of the Boston eruv with its distinct translation of the text into a physical structure grounds the non-tangible spaces that will be explored in the physical world.

Paradoxical Space as a Mode of Interpretation

The concept of the eruv has been discussed predominantly in terms of its point of origin, Jewish religious law. From that standpoint, a body of laws determines primarily the character of physical elements that define a space as a private domain or a public domain. However, thick layers of symbolism and social constructions created by the eruv lie beyond the legalism. The eruv's minimal physical presence might be one of the reasons why it has been overlooked for so long as a spatial expression by people from within the religion and from disciplines such as architecture. The ephemeral character of the eruv, which relies heavily on associations (like a telephone pole and a wire to represent a doorframe) opens the eruv to multiple interpretations. It thus is a flexible basis for further layers of metaphorical and phenomenological spaces. On the other hand, the physicality of every eruv element is needed because the structure is so minimal. The stringent construction rules for Eruvin and the weekly checking of an eruv assure that its physicality will not diminish over time. Without the eruv boundary, there would be no physical trace of the non-tangible spaces, nor could new metaphorical or phenomenological spaces be constructed. "The eruv...exhibits the limits and the use by which the material and the metaphorical encounter each other in cities."⁷ (Weizman & Herz)

In order to look at the eruv as a spatial expression and analyze it accordingly, one needs to go beyond the legalism and the rules of the religion. In Judaism (especially in orthodox Judaism) there is a reluctance to analyze and compare Jewish structures and experiences with other cultures or to analyze a Jewish structure in relationship to a body of thoughts from outside the religion out of fear that this would reduce or trivialize the Jewish uniqueness.⁸ From that point of view, the eruv is only an expression of laws, and should hence only be discussed in relationship to these laws. In the context of a larger spectrum of scholars, Jewish or non-Jewish, this kind of opinion is of course not prevailing. However, during my research some people confronted me with the opinion that any analysis outside the laws would be arbitrary and therefore without meaning. On the contrary, I think it is extremely important to interrogate a structure like the eruv in the context of contemporary analysis.

According to Jewish law, the entire space inside the eruv is private. However, the physical, phenomenological, and metaphorical spaces have different levels of public and privateness. Moreover, areas emerge that start to be of yet another character, neither public nor private. Defining space only in relationship to public and private domains does not take into consideration all the other notions and layers of meaning. Anything that is outside these definitions would not be acknowledged and therefore could not be discussed. My analysis of the eruv in relationship to a nomadic navigation of space, a symbiotic construction of belonging, an ethics of foreignness, and a site for encounters, is in conflict with and outside of the conventional definition of the eruv held in place by the interpreta-

tions expressed and disseminated by the prevailing literature about Eruvin.⁹ For more diverse encounters with the eruv as I propose it, the concept of paradoxical space is especially helpful, because it allows me to encounter a structure as bizarre as the eruv from many different perspectives without rejecting any of the viewpoints. Traditional interpretations continue to signify along with more personal readings. My readings of the eruv try to look beyond the limiting character of the laws that govern the eruv and the behavior on Shabbat, towards an encounter of the eruv as a multi-layered structure. Within the paradoxical space of the eruv, possibilities for interaction between people independent of their background unfold, and a “thirdspace” of choice and interchange evolves. The eruv becomes particularly interesting for those within and beyond the orthodox community once it is not only “a wire that allows Jews to carry,” but when all “real and imagined” spaces of the eruv coexist, forming a richly layered space of diverse encounters.

“Other” spaces, spaces that are not governed by binaries, have been explored in recent discussions about space and given different names such as Soja’s “thirdspace,” Lefebvre’s “Other spaces,” hooks’ “margin,” Bhabha’s “in-between spaces,” Foucault’s “heterotopia,” and Deleuze’s “paradox”, to name only a few. The different names indicate that the various authors emphasize different aspects, discussing “Other” spaces in a particular context. Although “Other” spaces have been defined differently, the varying approaches share the concept that these spaces are not simply a combination of the original dualities; rather they overcome the binary systems from which they originate; they are not only at both places at once, but instead offer more than either of the two places can offer by themselves or jointly. As these approaches do not try to categorize space, experience, or people in an either-or system, a much greater variation and differentiation can subsist. These concepts offer also a perspective, in which difference can co-exist, where one can follow two or more directions simultaneously without excluding any.¹⁰ Within these “Other” places, real and imagined spaces co-exist without a hierarchy, from bodily scales to mental expanses. Referring to Lefebvre’s third term, Soja writes: “This critical thirding-as-Othering is the first and most important step in transforming the categorical and closed logic of either/or to the dialectically open logic of both/and also.”¹¹ These kinds of “Other” spaces are considered places of resistance and possible cultural hybridity, precisely because they challenge the duality asserted by the powerful. From these “Other spaces” meta-narratives are questioned and new geographies develop, where the particular location of the subject informs the narrative. Soja and Hooper write: “The key step is to recognize and occupy new and alternative geographies – a ‘thirdspace’ of political choice – different but not detached entirely from the geographies defined by the original binary oppositions between and within objectivism and subjectivism.”¹²

With the eruv, the underlying binaries constructed from within the religion (public domain/private domain) are a necessary starting point for any third (or paradoxical) space of the eruv. If they are completely excluded, the eruv loses its religious connotations. Without the religious rules, the eruv falls apart as a structure and all the non-tangible spaces would disintegrate along with the physical space. Consequently, these binaries need to be included, but at the same time they need to be overcome in order to find a “thirdspace of political choice.” This proposed space of the eruv could provide the terrain for “new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration.”¹³ This space could be the starting point for new forms of “Eruvin” that can be engaged and deployed by local or foreign communities and notions of a subject emerge in which different experiences are woven together. Unintended encounters become a source of knowledge.

Notes:

- ¹ Homi K. Bhabah, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p.2.
- ² There are several different kinds of Eruvin. This essay deals only with the “partnership of streets” (*shitufei mevo’os*) eruv, because it is the only one that deals with the community and space.
- ³ There are four kinds of domains with regard to carrying on Shabbat: private domain, public domain, *carmelis* and an exempt area. The latter three are all outside a private domain, which is the important distinction for this paper, and in order to make the subject matter of this paper more accessible I will just refer to the three jointly as “public domain”. For a discussion of the four domains, see: Shlomo Ganzfried, *Kitzur Shulchon Oruch*, (New York: Moznaim Publishing Corporation, 1991), pp. 358-409.
- ⁴ Although the concepts and terminology of public and private are very complicated and problematic, I would like to exclude these issues due to the length of the paper. For a discussion of public/private see: Nancy Duncan, “Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces,” *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender*, (London Routledge, 1996).
- ⁵ “Eruv”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Cecil Roth, ed., (Jerusalem: New York, Macmillan, 1971), p.849.
- ⁶ For example: Yosef Gavriel Bechofer, *The Contemporary Eruv: Eruvin in Modern Metropolitan Areas*, (Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers, 1998), Shimon D.Eider, *A Summary of the Halachot of the Eruv*, (Lake-wood: Rabbi Shimon D.Eider, 1973), Menachem M.Kasher, *The Manhattan Eruv*, (New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1986).
- ⁷ Eyal Weizman and Manuel Herz, “Between City and Desert: Constructing the North London Eruv”, *AA Files* 34, p.76.
- ⁸ See Introduction to: Todd M.Endelman, ed., *Comparing Jewish Societies*, (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp.1-23.
- ⁹ Andrea Kahn has elaborated this argument in relationship to traditional site analysis. Andrea Kahn, “Overlooking: a Look at How We Look at Site or... Site as ‘Discrete Object’ of Desire,” *Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*, D.McCorquodale, K.Ruedi, and S.Wigglesworth ed. (London: Black Dog Publisher Limited, 1996), p.179.
- ¹⁰ Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).
- ¹¹ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, (Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), p.60.
- ¹² Edward Soja, Barbara Hooper, “The Spaces That Difference Makes: Some notes on the Geographical Margins of the New Cultural Politics,” *Place and the Politics of Identity*, Michael Keith, Steve Pile, ed., (New York: Routledge, 1993), p.198.
- ¹³ Homi Bhabha, p.1.

On Shabbat one is only permitted to carry within a singular private domain.

According to orthodox Jewish law, a private domain is an enclosed space that is surrounded by barriers at least 10 *tefachim* (~38 inches) high.



The Tangible Eruv



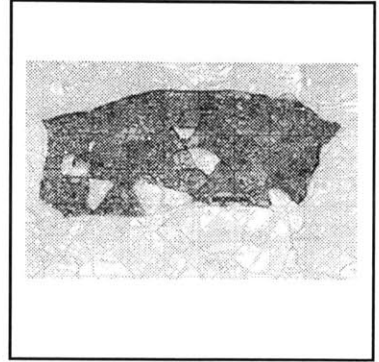
[W]e never go away
even if we're always
leaving.

Paula Gunn Allen,¹

The concepts of erubin have been attributed to King Solomon,² They have since then been discussed and adapted to the prevailing conditions of their time by the rabbis, which has been recorded in the *Halacha*, the Jewish legal code. These rules in turn have been interpreted more locally and several pictorial guides have been published since the 1950 in America that explain the translation of the original laws into contemporary architecture, which of course differs from place to place. The first section gives an overview over the historic religious context of erubin, and then elaborates the concepts of “neighborhood” erubin, which are the ones of interest to this thesis, as they are the only ones of an urban scale. These general concepts of erubin are then related to the Greater Boston Eruv.

The Boston eruv exemplifies the adaptation of the theoretical and more generic construction instructions to the physical and particular conditions of a specific city. The photographs of the Boston eruv (see attached) show the implementation of these laws and their adjustments to the particularity of Boston. Although the eruv is a rather minimal structure, the photographs as a whole describe its architectural language and make it more approachable as a structure. An encounter with the physicality of the boundary is very important, because it is the only physical trace of the metaphorical and phenomenological spaces of the eruv. Continuing that theme, the metaphorical meaning of the construction instructions and their material implementations are discussed in relationship to an already buildup place.

An eruv is the construction of a single private domain around a neighborhood, inside of which carrying is then allowed from inside a house into the streets and on the streets. Without an eruv carrying would be forbidden.



The photographs of the Boston eruv and their depiction of the real spaces of the eruv boundary, begin to question the simple categorization of space by the *halacha* into a public and private domain, distinguished from one another primarily through the existence or absence of a boundary. The analysis of the meaning underlying the construction rules and hence the physical elements of the eruv challenge the interpretation of the eruv as a pure Jewish legal system, which was created to ameliorate the laws prohibiting carrying between domains on Shabbat. The direct engagement with the laws and the Boston eruv boundary as an example of their implementation starts opening the subject of the eruv and creates the starting point for a diverse encounter with the eruv, looking at the eruv as a multi-layered structure that transcends the traditional interpretation of the eruv as a dyadic space. At the edge of the space, the boundary is also the only place where a physical change takes place. One needs to explore its physicality and laws before turning to the phenomenological changes at the interior of the space.

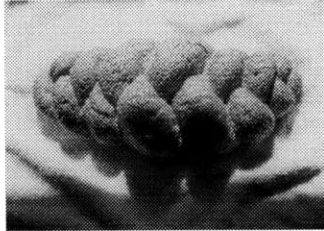
Halachic Origins

The *Halacha*, the Jewish legal system, is like any other legal system – very complicated and full of details. While its broad contours are universally accepted by orthodox Jews, they are challenged by non-orthodox movements.³ Even among the orthodox, there are intense discussions about specific laws and their adaptation to modern conditions. The school of one Rabbi might maintain one opinion while the school of another rabbi might have a different opinion. Unlike the typical civil state's law, the *Halacha* is not an absolute system; every community and its rabbi needs to decide whose opinion they, as a community, follow. While some consider the eruv of the community in which they live kosher (valid), others might disagree and disregard that particular eruv. Others do not accept the concept of the eruv as valid under any circumstances.

The term *eruv* is applied to several acts that facilitate actions, which are otherwise forbidden on Shabbat and some other holidays. The term *eruv* means literally “mixing”. The term “mixing” is generally believed to denote the mixing of the permissible and the forbidden, through which the forbidden becomes permissible. Through the act of mixing, the entire entity becomes permissible, instead of the forbidden defiling the permissible. There are four different kinds of erubin, which all alleviate specific rules of the Shabbat. The rules of the Shabbat originate from the Thora [*me'd'oraysa*] while the rules governing the erubin are of rabbinical origin [*me'd'rabbanan*].

On a holiday that precedes the Shabbat, one is not allowed to cook on the holiday for Shabbat. So that the preparations on the holiday of the meals for Shabbat are considered to have started before the holiday, with the *eruv tavshilin* (cooking eruv) cooked food or bread is set aside before the holiday begins, which is permissible, and the preparations are merely continued on the holiday. The

An eruv is created by constructing a continuous physical or symbolic boundary around an area and the symbolic pooling of sources of the community by setting aside food.



eruv tavshilin mixes the permissible and the prohibited, because allowed cooking (before the holiday) is mixed with forbidden cooking (cooking on the holiday) and both are permitted due to the mixing.

The three other kinds of erubin, *eruv tehumim*, *eruv hazerot*, and *shitufei mevo'o*, mix physical spaces, in which activities are either permitted or prohibited, so that they are permitted in all the spaces. On Shabbat or holidays one is not allowed to walk more than 2,000 (about 1200 yards) cubits from one's home town. By placing food for at least two meals less than 2,000 cubits from the town, one establishes a symbolic second residency from which one is allowed to walk another 2,000 cubits. This food is called *eruv tehumim* (boundary eruv) and mixes an area in which one is permitted to walk with an area in which one is prohibited to walk.

The third and fourth types of erubin are similar to one another: both facilitate the carrying and moving of objects between different domains. There are two kinds of domains in Jewish law, private domains [*reshus ha'yachid*] and public domains [*reshus ha'rabbim*]⁴. A private domain is defined as an area of at least 4 tefachim (15 inches) square that is surrounded by a wall of at least 10 tefachim (38 inches) in height. Spaces that do not meet these criteria, and spaces with more than 600,000 people are considered public domains. In general, a public domain can be transformed into a private domain by surrounding it with a wall of at least ten tefachim. Although there are disputes about how the people should be counted,⁵ domains with fewer than 600,000 people can have doorframes to allow people to pass through the boundary; domains with greater than 600,000 people must have operable doors.

On Shabbat it is forbidden to carry or move objects from a private domain into a public domain, vice versa, between private domains of different ownership, or for more than four cubits (about 7 feet) within a public domain.⁶ The carrying inside a singular private domain is unrestricted. The *eruv hazerot* (domain eruv) allows the carrying and movement of objects between buildings that are around a common courtyard. Carrying between these unique private domains is not allowed because the houses are owned by individuals (at least in most cases) while the courtyard is under joint ownership. Carrying between them is allowed under two conditions, the enclosure of the courtyard and the presence of communal food. If the courtyard is only enclosed by three walls, a symbolic fourth wall needs to be erected that is at least four tefachim wide and ten tefachim high. Food, usually a loaf of bread, becomes owned by all the people around the courtyard through a procedure called *sechiras reshus* which is then placed in one of the houses before Shabbat. By means of this procedure, the different domains are mixed, or rather amalgamated, into a single domain, in which the members can carry things from building to building or from buildings into the courtyard. Through the communal food all the members signify that they are unified and that none should be considered

A wall is as good as a house, and a doorframe is as good as a wall.

The eruv constructs a symbolic house in the urban fabric. Two posts and a wire, as a symbolic lintel, define the symbolic doorframe in a symbolic wall.



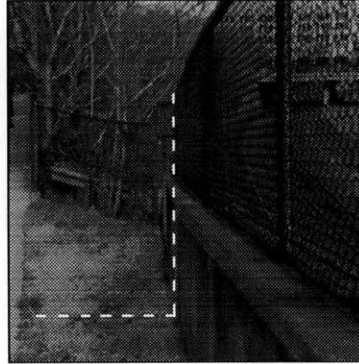
outside this community. Constituting a community is very important for these kinds of eruv (*eruv hazerot* and *shitufei mevo'o*). For example, people participating in a caravan, who enclose their camp before Shabbat with a fence or the like do not need any other forms of eruv because they already constitute a community.

The fourth kind of eruv is strictly speaking not called eruv but *shitufei mevo'o* (partnership in streets). However, in colloquial usage, it is simply called "eruv." This kind of eruv is the one addressed in this paper, and whenever the word eruv is used it will refer to *shitufei mevo'o* unless noted otherwise. The eruv is a variation of the *eruv hazerot* on an urban scale. Instead of uniting the houses around a courtyard into a community, the people in a much larger area are united. In contrast to an *eruv hazerot*, the area of an eruv needs to be completely enclosed in order to be defined as a private domain. All open spaces with fewer than 600,000 people can be enclosed by walls, which are allowed to have door openings [*tzuras ha'pesach*], like in a house. These door openings are used wherever one is not able or does not want to construct or adopt a wall for the eruv. The number of door openings is unlimited and multiple door openings can be directly adjacent to one another. The walls of the eruv can be composed of existing fences, walls of buildings or walls created by a height difference in the terrain of more than ten *tefachim*. Door openings are defined as two posts with an overhead lintel. In the modern city, they can be constructed by stretching a wire between two (telephone, light...) posts. These doorframes can cross over streets without obstructing traffic and allow the eruv to be completely permeable while remaining in effect. The entries and exits of the Boston eruv consists solely of doorframes. The city walls and gates surrounding the old city in Jerusalem is a valid eruv. However, areas with more than 600,000 people cannot be enclosed with doorframes alone, they need close-able doors as well, which in turn do not need overhead lintels. In Manhattan, for example, foldable doors are installed at certain parts of the eruv, which are only closed for two hours at two o'clock in the morning on December 25th. However, most eruvim, like the Boston eruv, do not encounter the problem of a public domain with more than 600,000 people and hence need only doorframes, which are easier to construct and blend in much more with the city fabric.

The Geography of the Boston Eruv

The eruv presents a remarkable consistency over time and space, and the Boston eruv continues the 2000 year old tradition, where a theoretical framework, the *Halacha*, has been explored and physically implemented. The physicality of the boundary becomes the manifestation of the theoretical discussions. Along with the food, the eruv boundary is the only element introduced into the existing environment. The physicality of the boundary is the foundation for the phenomenological and metaphorical spaces created. The underlying binaries constructed from within the reli-

In contemporary cities, existing depressions or walls in the urban topography, like fences, embankments, highways, building facades, are used to enclose the domain.



gion are the differentiation of space into public domains or a private domains, which are defined by the presence or absence of a boundary. This binary is a necessary starting point for any paradoxical space of the eruv. If they are completely excluded, the eruv loses its religious connotations. Without the religious rules, the eruv falls apart as a structure, and along all the non-tangible spaces would evaporate with the physical space. Consequently, the rules need to be considered, and the physical presence of the eruv needs to be explored. However, when one looks closely at the eruv boundary, the original dichotomy of enclosure and openness is questioned, because the only elements introduced into the urban fabric are the doorframes – the openings form the enclosure.

The architecture for an eruv does not wholly consist of new construction; usually preexisting urban boundaries are integrated into the eruv boundary. Over large stretches, the Boston eruv boundary incorporates already existing fences from the Massachusetts Turnpike along its northern border and from the MBTA (subway) at two places along its southern border. Building facades have been integrated into the Boston eruv boundary at only a few locations. The Charles River, one of the largest dividers of the Greater Boston area, is never part of the eruv boundary, although the boundary is near the Charles River where it intersects with North Beacon street, and near the Boston University Bridge. If they are at the right location, fences from transportation axes like highways and subway lines are ideal for incorporation into an eruv boundary because they stretch over the city in a nearly continuous, linear manner. Ironically, fences of highways and train tracks are used for the Boston eruv boundary, while in orthodox Judaism one is not allowed to use a car or a train for transportation on Shabbat. These fences are part of a transportation system that provide long distance connections in the city. The eruv is about movement, too, but about the movement of people from inside their homes into the streets (without them being restricted by the prohibition of carrying). The scale of distances traversed by with cars and trains is contrasted with the bodily scale of walking. In theory, these two different scales belong to different sections of time for an orthodox Jew, weekday versus Shabbat. In the modern western city, both scales are present on Shabbat.

The only elements introduced into the urban fabric for the eruv are the symbolic doorframes, which make for a permeable boundary. The eruv is a way of mapping the city as a space of openness without rejecting and denying the already existing physical boundaries. Single doorframes close small breaches in existing urban boundaries. Rows of doorframes serve this purpose for larger gaps in the boundary. The doorframes serve as passageways used by those for whom the eruv does not matter. The passage of people, including non-orthodox Jews, in and out of the eruv's area on Shabbat, connects the area with its larger context, ensuring that the area does not become detached from the remainder of the city. Hence, the space inside the eruv is like a permeable layer superimposed onto the city, forming yet another layer of meaning and territoriality of a city.

Only doorframes are introduced into the urban fabric and make the eruv completely permeable. Single doorframes close small breaches in the boundaries. Rows of doorframes serve this purpose for larger gaps in the boundary.



The thesis displays photographs of the Boston eruv boundary alongside the text. The photographs show how the ancient laws of the eruv have been adapted to the different conditions of Greater Boston. Not only does a contemporary city differ from a city two thousand years ago, but the topographical conditions vary across the Greater Boston area. The photographs document both the Boston eruv and the city. The eruv's architecture always adapts to the pre-existing condition of the city, and changes in consonance with the city's topography. The photographs reflect the eruv as a system, as a layer projected onto the existing topography. They also document how certain areas have strong boundaries, either natural or man made; how transportation axes have cut into the city and divided the city into two sides, which are not necessarily inside and outside, although the two sides get turned into an inside and outside by the eruv.

The eruv is not an orthodox Jewish "privilege" but as part of the urban landscape, it is accessible to anybody who would like to encounter it. The location of the boundary is outlined on the *Greater Boston Eruv Corporation's* web page. Its elements would be too if the web-page would contain images of the elements that are attached to the cities structures for the eruv (metal poles, black plastic conduits and wire). However, there are only a few people who know the entire eruv boundary and its elements. The photographs allow those who either do not know the entire boundary, or those who do not know the eruv at all to get an impression of it.

The photographs depict the entire boundary and not only fragments of it, so as to re-construct the eruv as a closed circuit on photographs, simulating an encounter with the eruv as a continuous boundary. They capture whenever possible only a single door opening, documenting the elements that have been introduced into the urban fabric, or those that have been incorporated into the boundary by the attachment of small elements. For example, utility poles are transformed into door posts by the attachment of *lechi*, small plastic conduits. Existing boundaries, like fences, which have not been altered for the incorporation of the eruv boundary, are not specifically photographed. They are only depicted when they connect to elements such as poles that have been introduced into the topography for the eruv boundary. The photos as a whole will give a distorted and subjective view, elements are not represented because they cover a large area but because they present an insertion into the city's fabric. Nor is every door frame photographed, but only those that deviate from the norm. All the deviations in turn present their own norm.

The photographs as a whole start challenging the dichotomy of the inside/ outside and enclosure/openness. By looking at all the photographs, the openings start forming the boundary, expressing its permeability and boundary character at the same time. All the photographs are taken from the interior of the eruv, and the photographs give one a feeling of being inside while being in an outdoor space, questioning the distinction between interior and exterior with its often assumed corre-

The introduction of the eruv boundary erases the legal divisions between domains, creating one large private domain. Phenomenologically, the private sphere infiltrates the public sphere and vice versa.

The area inside the eruv during the week



■ public domain
□ private domain

The area inside the eruv during shabbat



■ public domain
□ private domain

spondence to inside and outside. Furthermore, from the photographs alone, one cannot distinguish the difference between inside the eruv and outside the eruv, the private and the public domain as defined by Jewish law, other non-tangible spaces are needed to make this distinction. The eruv starts with a simple dichotomy which can be shattered by acknowledging that the eruv creates several layers of meaning, and a rich experience of the eruv can arise from the conjunction of these different layers. Although these non-tangible spaces take place in real and physical spaces and influence these spaces, their only physical manifestation is the eruv boundary. In order to leave the dichotomy of the laws, the “real and imagined spaces” have to coexist. By photographing the city with the rules of the eruv, I acknowledge the presence of the eruv in the city, despite its minimal physicality. Walking along the eruv boundary and looking at the eruv in the streets and on the photographs becomes a way of experiencing the city and connecting the non-tangible spaces to the physical space of the city. The photographs offer the reader a first encounter with the eruv, and the images at the end of this section provide some illustrations of possible interpretations of the eruv photographs.



Distance: zero – Intersection of MBTA fence and Chestnut Street: For the eruv a metal pole has been attached to the MBTA fence on the left side at the interior side of the overpass. A wire is stretched from the metal pole to the utility pole on the right side and the eruv continues from here along the utility poles.



Map of the Boston Eruv



The directions are from the Greater Boston Eruv Corporation's Web Page: <http://home1.gte.net/hefter/eruv/bound.htm>

External borders

The northern border of the Eruv extends from Chestnut St. (Newton at the west) along the Massachusetts Turnpike (Route 90) eastwards until the intersection of the Pike with Beacon St. (Boston). The Beacon St. overpass at the Mass Pike is not in the Eruv. The Eruv then crosses over Beacon St. and continues through the parking lot near HCHP-Kenmore; then meets the MBTA (Green Line) fence and heads southwesterly back towards Brookline. The MBTA line is followed until Brookline Village where the Eruv turns south, crosses over Route 9 just east of the Pedestrian Bridge and then turns down Pond Avenue (the Brook House and its sidewalk is in the Eruv). The Eruv continues down Pond Ave. and then follows Chestnut St. north, Walnut St. west and finally crosses Lee St., turns west on Heath St., north on Dunster Rd., crosses Route 9, turns west on Middlesex Rd. and then meets the MBTA fence on the west side of Hammond St. The Eruv follows the MBTA tracks (south side) until Glen Ave. and then follows Glen Ave. to Langley Rd., turns south until Route 9, west on Route 9 until Woodland Rd., north on Woodland until Lincoln Rd. and then meets the MBTA fence at the northern end of the Eliot St. Station. The Eruv then follows the fence along the tracks until Chestnut St. and then follows Chestnut St. north until the intersection with the Mass. Pike.

Internal Exclusions

Crystal Lake (Newton) - The northern border runs along Beacon St. from Crescent on the east to Walnut on the west. The western border runs from Walnut on the north to the BayBank building just north of Station Ave. on the south. The eastern border runs along the western fence of the MBTA tracks from the Newton Highland MBTA station until Centre St. and then up Centre to Crescent and then back up to Beacon St.

Bulloughs Pond (Newton) - The northern border runs along Dexter Rd. from Walnut to Bulloughs Pk. then follows Bulloughs Pk. south until the fence parallel to Commonwealth Ave, follows the fence around the southern side of the Pond until just before the first house on Walnut St. where the Mechitzah then leaves the fence and rejoins the utility poles.

Chandler Pond (Brighton) - There is no way to travel along Lake St. Only the north side of Kenrick Rd. is in the Eruv

Newton Cemetery (Walnut St.) - The only side of Walnut St. in the Eruv between Newton Four Corners and the northern extent of the cemetery property (abutting the Newton Public Library, south of Homer St.) is the sidewalk on the eastern side of the street.

Hall's Pond (Brookline) - This pond, located east of Amory Park is not in the Eruv.

Glen Ave. (Newton) - There is currently no way to access this street from the Beacon St. side of the MBTA underpass. The Eruv cuts out the access from the south on Glen Ave. about 50 feet south of the underpass. One can reach the southern several blocks of Glen from Newton Centre.

Chestnut Hill Reservoir (Brighton) - This large reservoir is completely surrounded by an iron fence.

Brookline Reservoir (Brookline - Off Route 9) - This body of water is completely surrounded by an embedded, angled flagstone wall. The Walking Path around this reservoir is completely available for use on Shabbat.

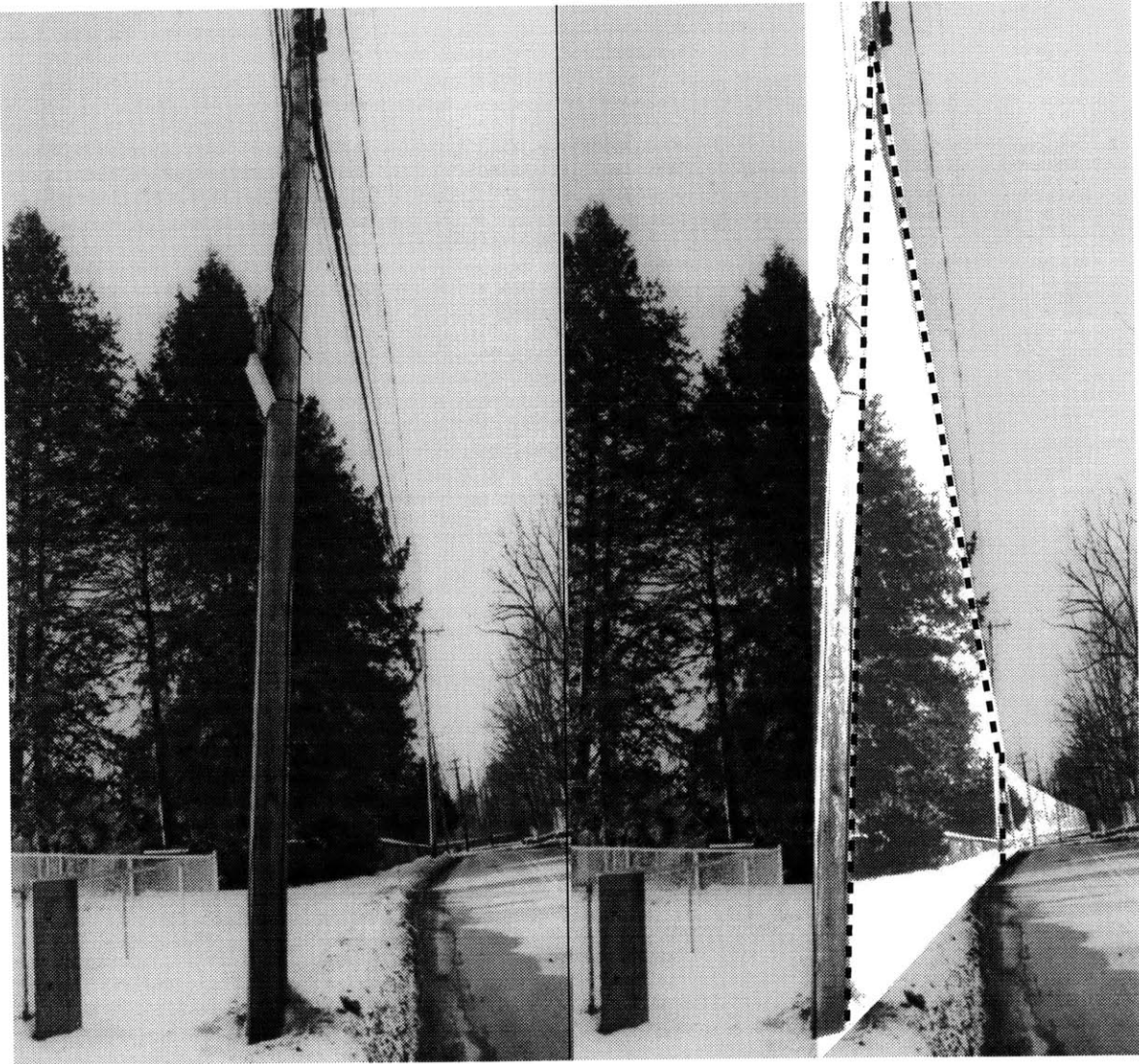


The Boston Eruv in its larger regional context.



Chestnut Street near MBTA overpass: The eruv continues along the left side with the utility poles.





IT IS AS IF THE AIR BELOW THE DOORFRAMES

One of the horizontal wires attached to the pole represents the lintel of the symbolic doorframe.

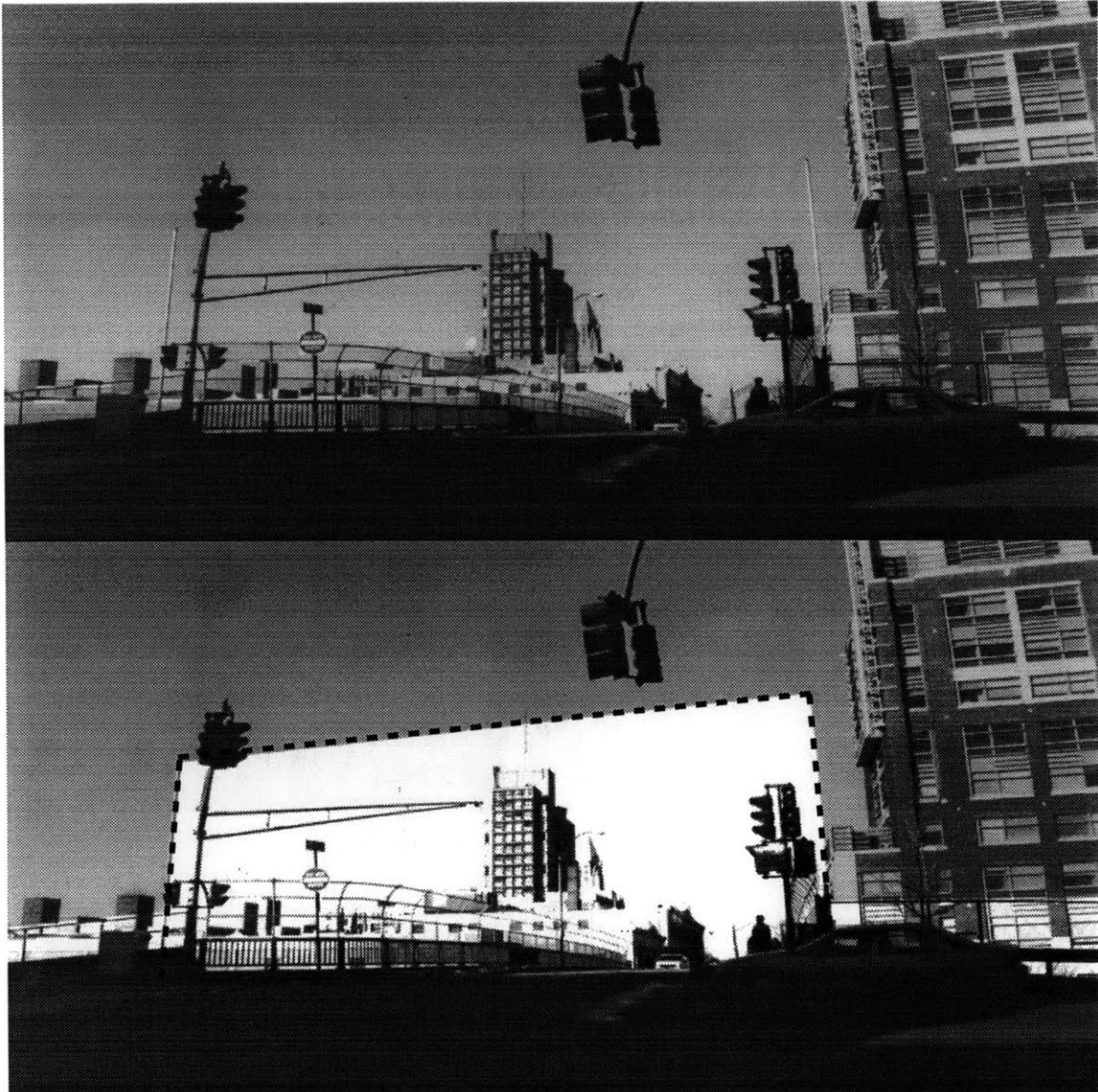
FORMS A PALPABLE BOUNDARY.

A plastic conduit is attached to the post to represent the pole of the symbolic doorframe of the eruv.



Intersection of Chestnut Street and Beacon Street: The eruv continues on the left hand side of Chestnut Street till the intersection where it crosses.





THE GATE MARKS BOTH
Metal poles are attached at both sides of the fence. A wire is stretched between them, creating a
THE URBAN DIVIDER AND CONNECTOR.
symbolic doorframe. The existing fence of the Mass. Turnpike is a wall for the eruv.



Intersection of Chestnut Street and Beacon Street: After the intersection it crosses to the right side where it continues along the utility lines.





THE ERUV MOVES WITH THE MUNDANE STREET

The wire stretched between the tops of the streetlights is the lintel for the symbolic doorframe. The

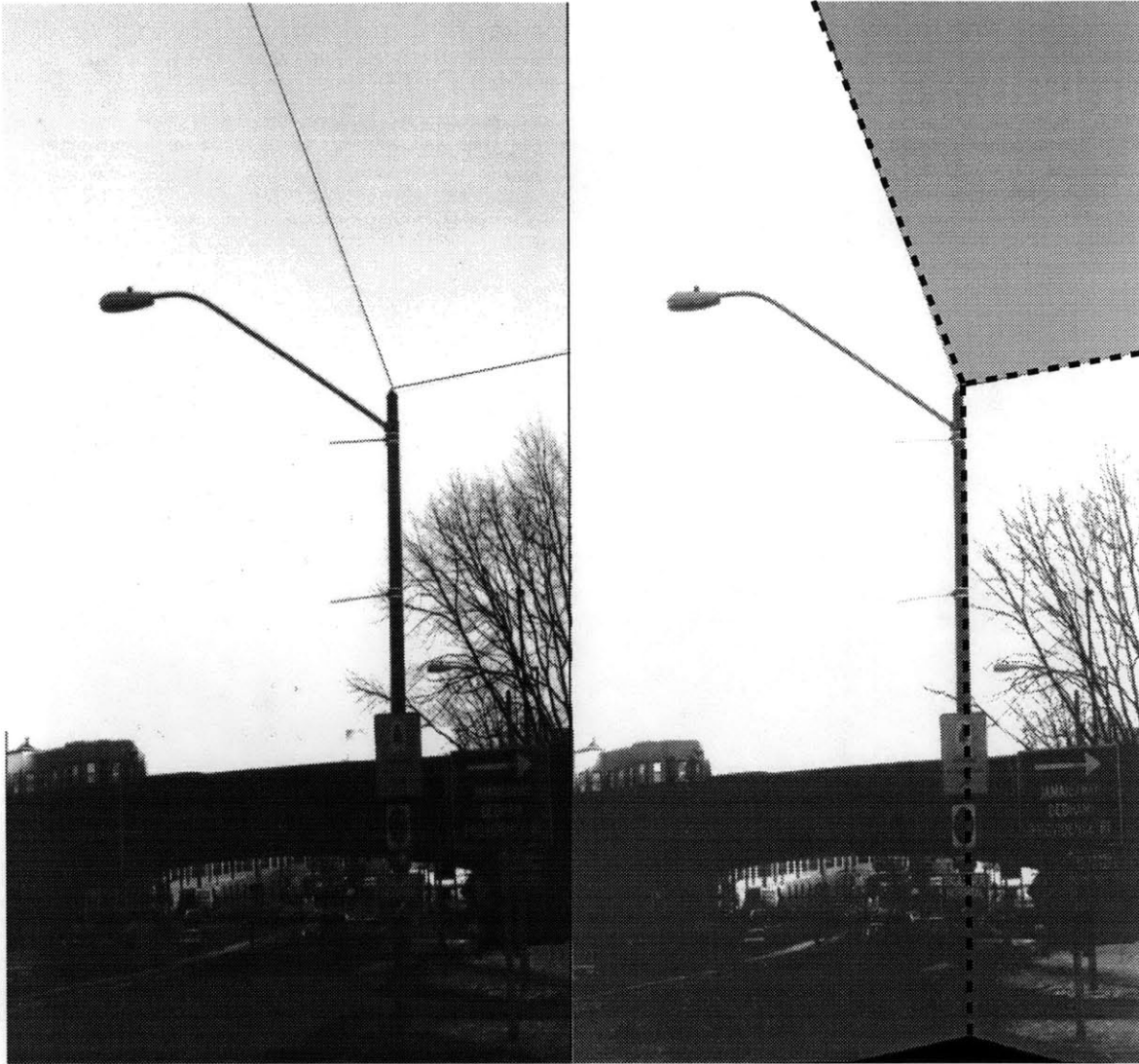
FURNITURE FROM SIDE TO SIDE.

streetlights are the door posts. When they change the side of the street, the eruv has to change sides, too.



Intersection of Chestnut Street and Highland Street: The eruv goes from the right side of Chestnut Street to the traffic island and from there again to the left side of Chestnut Street and continues from there on along the left side.





Wires are connected to the top of the streetlight as symbolic lintels.

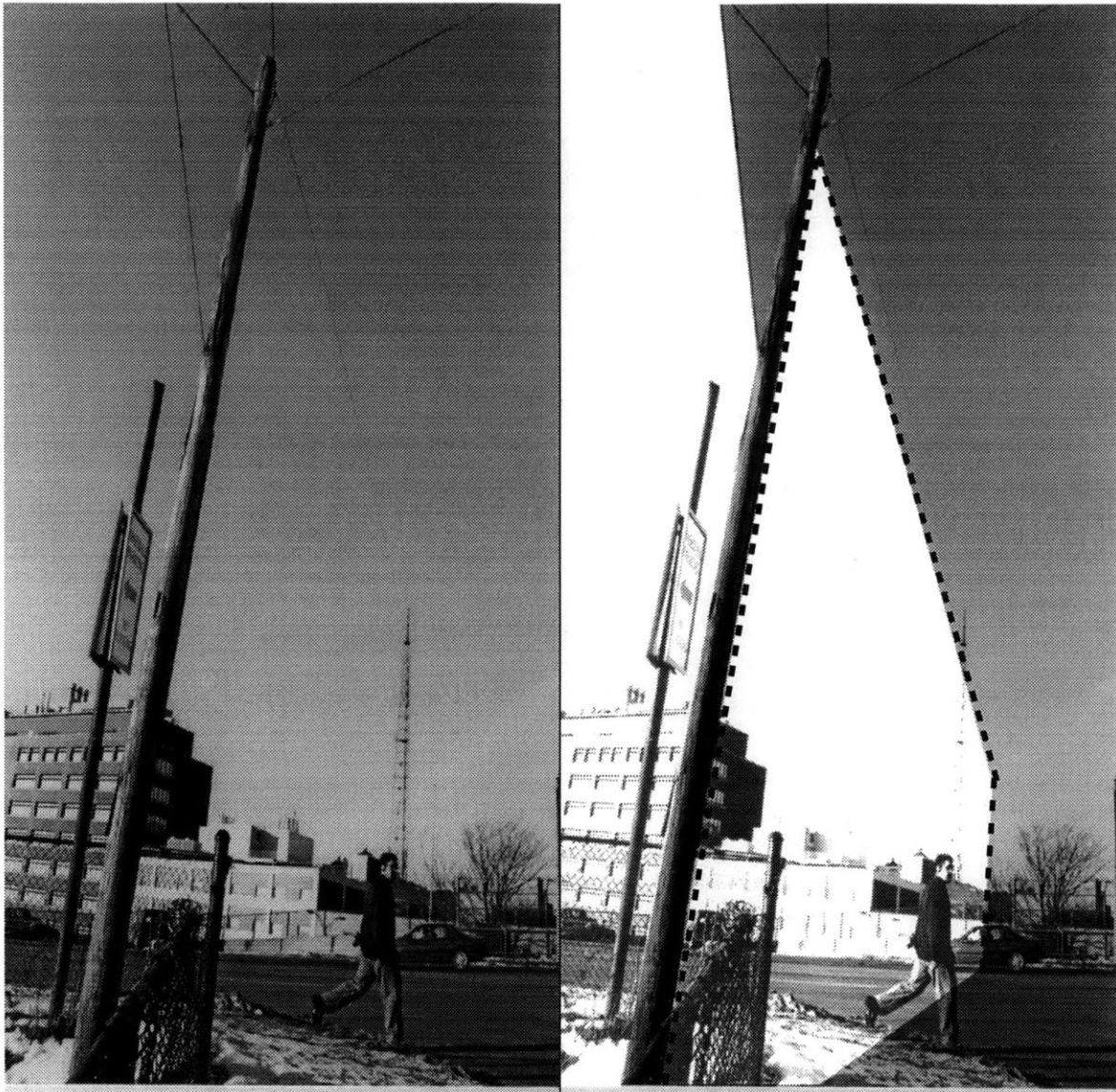
HOW CAN AN INVISIBLE HOUSE HAVE CORNERS?

The streetlight pole is used as a door post for two doorframes that meet at a corner.



Chestnut Street and Austin Street: The eruv goes from the left side to the right side and continues then on the right side of the Street.





THE MORE DISJOINT THE CITY'S TOPOGRAPHY,
A vertical plastic conduit is attached to the pole to represent the post of the symbolic doorframe.

THE MORE CONFUSE IS THE ERUV.

A metal pole is attached to the fence of the Mass. Turnpike as the second door post.



Distance: one walking hour – Intersection of Chestnut Street and the Massachusetts Turnpike fence: The eruv goes from the utility pole next to the fence to a little pole, which is behind the fence, so practically outside the eruv area. And from there the eruv continues along the fence of the Mass. Turnpike.



Nomadic Navigation of Space

The concept of the eruv, created most probably during King Solomon's rule, originated in a time where the Jews as a people lived in their own country, Israel. This political situation was exceptional; the Jewish people have been placeless during the majority of their history. It might be that this spatial expression (the eruv) was sustained because even the Jews, who consider the text as their alternative homeland, have an especially strong need to connect the religion to spaces and places. The symbolic nomadism of the Jewish people, which followed their nomadic story during the time in the desert after the exodus from Egypt, is reflected in the construction methods for eruvim. The spaces created during a Diasporic condition are nomadic in character and are constructed in relationship to the already existing places. This relationship arises not from being at home, but instead from the need to create a home in a particular place. The existing conditions of a particular place need to be taken into consideration and are often integrated into the construction of one's own place of belonging. The eruv is a form of a nomadic navigation of the topography of a place, in which a notion of belonging of a community is created that is constructed at a particular place but is at the same time independent of a particular location, and can be deployed whenever and wherever needed. The eruv creates a different notion of connectivity as its scale is often of the size of a neighborhood, and not only private spaces but also the public realm is included into the space constructed.

The pictorial guide *A Summary of Halachos of the Eruv*, an eight page publication from an American Rabbi describes walls as follows:

A partition may be constructed from any material consisting of any thickness, as long as it is capable of standing up against a normal wind. The canvas or other moveable material should be tied on top and bottom so that it should not move up or from its place in a normal wind.... Partitions beginning three tefachim or higher above the ground are not valid.⁷

This problem with partitions that do not start at the ground can be solved in three ways: the space can be broken up horizontally by a wire or rope, filled in, or a doorframe is constructed below it.⁸ Breaking up the space with wires or ropes is symbolically similar to filling the space in. It is as if something is woven into the gap so that it once again becomes a wall, a protective device. Large spaces between the rigid, load bearing elements are filled in with smaller elements wherever one tries to construct a wall and to stabilize the entire structure. The quotation sounds as if they were taken from a construction manual for tents. Both the materiality for the partition, fabric, and the element of destruction, wind, sound as if the directions are for a tent build in the desert. Nomads build with fabric and other transportable materials and in regions with strong winds. Tent designs like the Berber tents are often particularly influenced by considerations of wind patterns. The author of



Intersection of Mass. Turnpike fence and Lowell Avenue: The gap in the fence that is created by the Lowell Av. Overpass over the Mass. Turnpike is closed by a symbolical doorframe, with two poles, one on each side of the fence and a wire stretched between them.

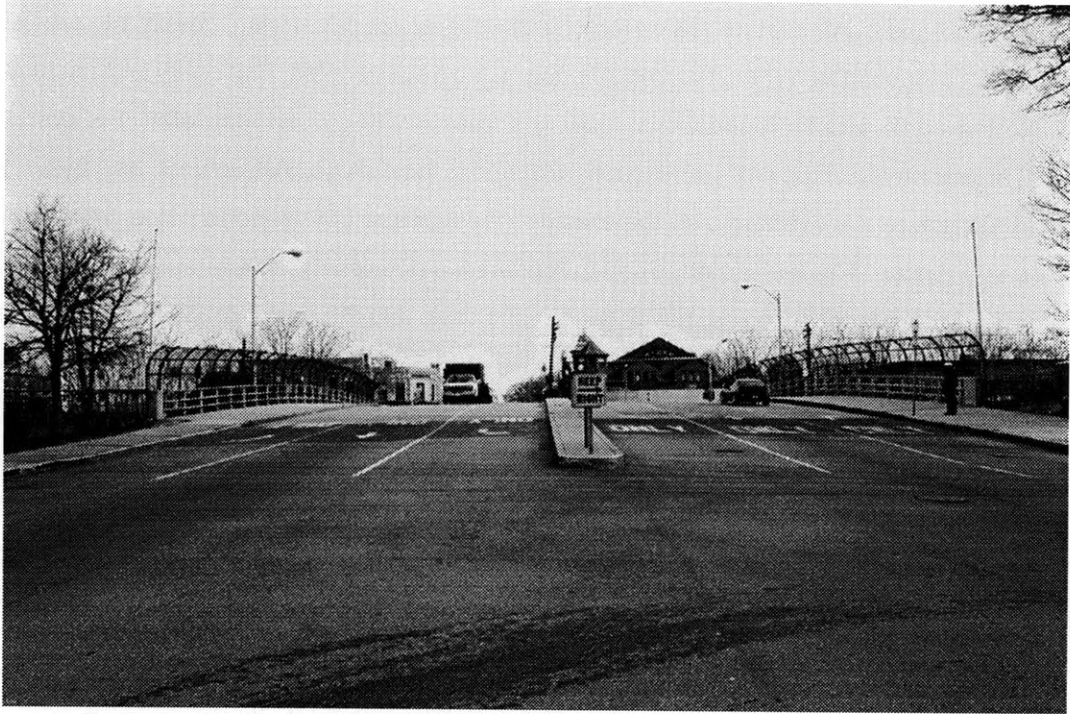


this publication believed that those thoughts were important enough to include them in such a condensed booklet. This is especially interesting in a publication in America, where the Jews consider themselves as being permanent and stationary.

The nomad's architecture sits on top of a landscape, not penetrating deeply into preexisting structures nor landscapes. When it is time to move on, no traces are left. Stationary architecture cuts deep into the earth with its foundations, leaving a trace in the ground long after it is gone. The (Boston) eruv is on top of the city's landscape, attached to the outside of structures, as if by nomads. As an infrastructure it is overlaid over the existing infrastructure of telephone poles, transportation avenues and fences. The *lechi* (strips used to represent a door post), for example, are attached to the outside of the telephone poles, never penetrating deep into the earth, ready to be re-moved at any time, leaving hardly any trace behind.

The eruv is only "in force" from the appearance of three stars at the sky on Friday until the appearance of three stars on Saturday, and although its parts remain at their position during the week, it does not unite the different domains according to Jewish law. The continuity of time is broken up into segments with different spatial expressions, theoretically offering the possibility of weekly variations in the location of the eruv. Each week's eruv could in theory differ from the one in the previous week, reacting to the continuously changing demography of the community. The eruv should appear and disappear with this time cycle, and the checking and repairing of it every week, is a symbolic rebuilding of the communal house. The architecture created by the eruv is less like a solid built-up city, which changes over a long period of time, but is more like the ever changing life in the desert, where a place of belonging is not fixed to a particular point, but is claimed anew after every move.

Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the nomad's 'smooth space' and the 'striated space' of the 'state apparatus' are helpful to visualize the transformation of the eruv's concept into the eruv's (contemporary, North American) physical materialization. "It is the difference between a *smooth* (vectorial, projective or topological) space and a *striated* (metric) space: in the first case "space is occupied without being counted," while in the second case "space is counted in order to be occupied."⁹ The desert and the sea are prototypical smooth spaces. The nomad's expanse in open space is the smooth space, which is defined in relationship to events and people. The linking of proximities is independent of a determined path in smooth space; it is in a state of becoming, a space of "tactile or manual actions of contact." The striated space of the state apparatus is in opposition to the smooth space of the nomad, who is exterior to the state apparatus. Striated space is delineated and counted independent of the situation and expressed "with aid points and units." Striated space is the space where movement goes from one point to another, and any free flow is controlled by the



Intersection of Walnut Street and Mass. Turnpike fence: The gap that results from the Walnut Street overpass is closed with two poles and a wire stretched across.



state apparatus by striating space. The concept of the eruv arises out of smooth space. It is independent of measurements and is organized around the people, theoretically growing and shrinking with their expenditure. It is contrary to the state apparatus, which has fixed boundaries and disregards these boundaries to orient its space around people, and not around civic boundaries. The eruv in its pure form would follow only the demography of the people. The Boston eruv crosses several city borders, encompassing parts of Boston, Brookline and Newton. The smooth space eruv is adapted to the topography of the city, where it could still operate as a smooth space structure. However, the legal authority of both the secular state apparatus and the religious eruv experts¹⁰ solidifies the eruv into a structure in striated space. The state system, with its rules and regulations and lengthy approval time makes a continuous change of the location of the eruv impossible. Likewise, the power of the rabbinical eruv authority, which needs to be consulted before any change can occur, deprives the communities of the power to modify the eruv themselves when needed. These legal difficulties solidify the eruv at one moment in time, when it ceases to respond to the changing spatiality of the community and becomes fixed to specific points in a coordinate system. However, the nomadic character of an eruv is sustained even when it is adapted for striated space, created by both the Jewish and the state legal systems. The eruv's fragility and material lightness remains, evoking movement and change. The weekly checking of the eruv boundary and its repairing becomes the symbolic rebuilding.



Repair of the plastic conduit representing the door post by an eruv checker

The real rather than the represented physicality of the city as a topographical foundation upon which the eruv is constructed needs to be explored from within. In order to find out if particular elements could be appropriated, the environment needs to be engaged directly; it needs to be walked and examined. Maps with their measured systems are useless to navigate the city as a (Jewish) nomad. City maps focus on what happens on the ground plane but do not address the height of elements, which is crucial to the eruv since a structure needs to be at least ten *tefachim* high to count as a wall. City maps are constructed as if height is of no importance. The conventional, contemporary navigation of the city is not about verticality but about navigating a single horizontal plane. A changing topography is only addressed in maps that are designed for walking a topography like hiking maps. Being in a foreign place means that one needs to learn how to proceed in that place. Those who decide on the location of the elements of the eruv, even if they think that they know the site, need to become estranged and experience the city anew to discern where and to what to



Intersection of Mass. Turnpike fence and Harvard Street: As the intersection is unsymmetrical, the fence of the Mass. Turnpike comes from Bowers Street around the corner along Harvard Street towards the overpass then a metal pole connects to the fence on the left side, another pole connects to the fence on the right side of the overpass and a wire is stretched between the two poles to construct the symbolical doorframe and then it continues along the fence of Farquhar Rd. towards the east. From here till the next intersection I cannot walk along the Mass. Turnpike fence.



attach the eruv. They have to look beyond the telephone poles and envision their own narrative on top of those structures. The eruv must follow the vertical topography of the city's structures and when the telephone poles change the side of the street, the eruv does so too. The city is explored in the search for existing urban partitions like fences and transportation corridors, and river banks. Some of these already existing partitions are used for the eruv even though some of the areas that are encompassed might not have been included if the eruv followed demographic principles strictly.

The layer of the eruv, laid over the city topography, joins the physical elements of the eruv boundary with the layer below, changing and moving in consonance with the city. Hence, the changing architecture of a city influences the physical expression of the eruv. The history of erubin in the area around Hamburg, Germany illustrates these changes and adaptations. In Germany, and elsewhere in Europe, city walls were often used as the eruv. Two historical sources document that the Hamburg city wall was used in the 18th century as an eruv: "... the city walls are valid as the eruv."¹¹ and "...the city wall had a special meaning for the Hamburg Jews because it represented the eruv,"¹² Then, once the cities expanded, the city gates were taken down, creating a break in the boundary. Adapting to the new situation, or in cities that never were walled in like Altona, the elements needed to be added to bridge the gaps in the city wall or the streets that ran between dense city blocks, whose continuous facades could qualify as a wall of an eruv. "It was therefore always the endeavor of the Jews, everywhere where there were no enclosures of the above stated kind [city walls], to construct the so called Shabbat-gates, ..."¹³ These so called "*Sabbathsthor*" (Shabbat gates) consisted out of two poles and a wire stretched between them similar to the contemporary construction of erubin in America. Both the liberalization of Judaism and the explosive growth of the city area account for finally giving up the institution of the eruv in Hamburg.

Existing boundaries in conjunction with the elements introduced for an eruv create a symbolic communal house in the public sphere. This symbolic house is independent of a particular location, although it's character is adjusted to the specific topography of the site. Perhaps the notion of identity is strengthened not only by construction ones own symbolic home, but also through the empowering feeling of putting one's own architecture into the public realm. This opens up the possibility of determining meaning within the public realm, so that the creation of meaning is no longer a monopoly of those in power but becomes layered and multi-faceted. The descriptions of these architectural components reveal a little about the kind of belonging created.

The second element of the eruv, the common food, underpins further the nomadic character of the eruv. In order for the eruv to be valid, the members of the community have to have a communally owned food, usually bread or *matzah*,¹⁴ which is placed where it is accessible to everybody. Usually the rabbi of one of the synagogues inside the eruv keeps the food on behalf of the entire



Intersection of Lewis Street and the Mass. Turnpike fence: One pole is attached on each side of it and a wire is stretched between them for the symbolic doorframe. The right pole is not directly attached to the fence and so a little metal rod connects the pole with the fence. I cannot walk along the fence to the next intersection.



community. In many contemporary communities, some people are aware of the eruv's physical manifestations (at least in part), but few know of this requirement for food, and still fewer know where it is kept. The importance the food has within the community varies over time and place. Rabbi Caesar Seligman (1860-1950) writes for example about Landau, Germany, "Directly at the entrance of the synagogue hang a *Magen David*, made of braided wooden strips, from the ceiling, on top of which laid the eruv-chazerot-mazzo."¹⁵ Although the importance of the communal food varies, there is a certain symbolism it suggests, "since the main dwelling place of a person is where his food is found."¹⁶ This presupposes that it is not clear where the home of the Jewish community is and that the community is not necessarily linked to a particular place but rather to wherever their food is, wherever they stay at a particular moment. This is similar to nomads wandering in the desert. The place where they are at a particular point in time and where their food is, becomes their home. They cannot be characterized as belonging to a place. Instead, a place becomes a place of belonging when they place certain objects there – the boundary and the food. The communal food is used to establish the area enclosed as the community's dwelling place.

The nomadic construction methods contrast with the stationary symbolism of the eruv's architecture. The elements introduced into the urban fabric are usually only the door frames, which are represented by door posts and a lintel, the classical construction method for wood or brick houses. Equally, the communal food is kept at a place that is relatively stable in location, like a synagogue or the rabbi's house. The juxtaposition of the nomadic concept of the eruv and its stationary symbolism creates a paradoxical space where the place of belonging created is both nomadic and stationary, creating a feeling of sedentary belonging at any place of residing. This place of belonging can move with the Jewish community if needed. When belonging is less defined by a particular place, food, a boundary, and the text start defining those missing places.

The text, the *Halacha* and its interpretations, forms the foundation for physical elements of the eruv, the boundary and the communal food. The physical elements in turn are the starting point for the metaphorical and phenomenological spaces of the eruv. In this chapter, the physical elements of the eruv and some of their laws have been explored in a visual and textual format. This exploration tries to go beyond the simple categorization of space by Jewish law as either a public or private domain. The opinion that the eruv is solely a spatial construct to alleviate laws prohibiting carrying between domains on Shabbat is challenged by the interpretation of the construction rules and the physical elements themselves.

The photographs of the Boston eruv offer an encounter with one adaptation of these laws to a specific site condition. The direct encounter with the physical structures, even on a photograph, construct a richer reading than the abstract dyadic space constructed by the laws of the *halacha*. The



Intersection of Oakland Street and Mass. Turnpike fence: The overpass is closed with a pole on each side of the fence and a wire stretched between them. The right pole does not directly attach to the fence so a thin metal rod connects the pole to the fence.



photographs show the paradoxical relationship of the eruv constructing a continuous boundary, while only doorframes, the openings, are introduced into the urban fabric. By looking closely at the physical elements of the eruv and their construction rules and relating them to the Diasporic condition of the Jews, further paradoxical notions emerge. Thus, the eruv constructs a space of belonging that is nomadic in its construction methods but is stationary in its metaphorical connotations. These paradoxical spaces are layers of meaning that are superimposed over the layer of meaning constructed by the laws of the *halacha*, equally is the layer of the eruv superimposed over the already existing topography of a city. Along with the physical elements another layer of meaning and territoriality superimpose themselves on the city, and unique narratives can be read in the already existing structures. Telephone poles cease to be only a mundane street furniture, but are also part of a doorframe of a communal house. The physical elements of the eruv are the points of touch and interconnectivity of these layers.

Through the eruv, the text – the Jewish law – can be read within the real and physical world of a city, and the photographs of the Boston eruv in turn reconstruct the city as a book. “When the city is a book, walking is reading. When the city is a book, walking is also writing.”¹⁷ The nomadic navigation of space demands a direct engagement with the physicality of the city. The ease of movement, as one does not need to worry about not carrying, creates the opportunity for further engagement with the urban by walking in it on Shabbat. Structures need to be engaged directly and are related to a bodily scale, as a boundary element needs to be at least 38 inches tall, about waist high. The eruv works on a different scale, the bodily scale contrasts the urban scale of the entire structure, while the concept of the eruv is really about the scale of individual private domains (and how they can be combined into a larger common private domain). The urban is explored from a different perspective and the direct engagement with the city by walking in it challenges the division between foreigner and local.

Notes:



Distance: two walking hours – Washington Street overpass over the Mass. Turnpike and exit from the Mass. Turnpike onto Washington Street: There is one pole on the left side next to the fence of the exit ramp and another one on the right side of the overpass. The symbolical gate bridges both the exit ramp and the overpass, which merge right at this point.

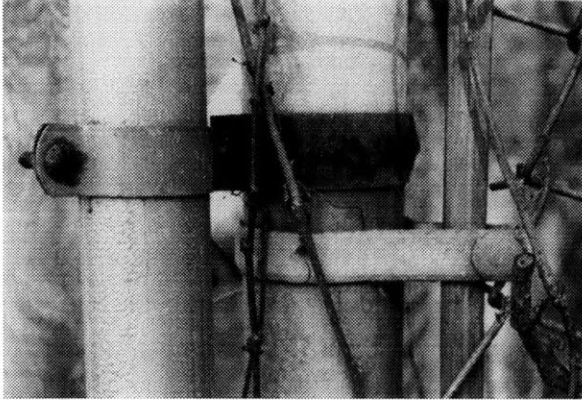


- ¹ In Gloria Anzaldua, ed., *Making Faces, Making Souls: Haciendo Caras*, (San Fransisco: Aunt Lute F, 1990), p.300.
- ² "Eruv", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Cecil Roth, ed., (Jerusalem: New York, Macmillan, 1971), p.849.
- ³ See authors such as Judith Plaskow, Rachel Adler, et al.
- ⁴ There are actually four kinds of domains with regard to carrying on Shabbat: private domain, public domain, *carmelis* and an exempt area. The latter three are all outside a private domain, which is the important distinction for this paper, and in order to make the subject matter of this paper more accessible I will just refer to the three jointly as "public domain". For a discussion of the four domains, see: Shlomo Ganzfried, *Kitzur Shulchon Oruch*, (New York: Moznaim Publishing Corporation, 1991), pp. 358-409. Yosef Gavriel Bechofer, *The Contemporary Eruv: Eruvin in Modern Metropolitan Areas*, (Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers, 1998).
- ⁵ There is much discussion about whom to count among these 600.000 people; all people on the street, only Jews, only people walking but not driving, and so forth.
- ⁶ One amos is depending on the rabbinical source between 48 cm and 57.6 cm.
- ⁷ Shimon D.Eider, *A Summary of the Halachot of the Eruv*, (Lakewood: Rabbi Shimon D.Eider, 1973), pp.1-2.
- ⁸ Ibid, p.3.
- ⁹ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Nomadology: The War Machine*, (New York: Semiotext[e], Columbia University [published by arrangement by the University of Minnesota Press.], 1986), p.19.
- ¹⁰ Most communities that wish to build an eruv hire a rabbi, who is an authority in the field of eruvim.
- ¹¹ Edgar Frank, *200 Jahre G'seroh Henkelpoettchen: Der Judentumult der Elbestrasse am 26. August 1730*, (Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg, 1930), cited in Peter Freimark, "Eruw/ <Judentore>. Zur Geschichte einer rituellen Institution im Hamburger Raum", *Hamburger Beitrage Zur Geschichte Der Deutschen Juden, Band IX*, (Hamburg: Hans Christian Verlag, 1983), p.30.
- ¹² Martin Cohen, *Ein Streifzug durch die deutschen Grossgemeinden*, (Hamburg: IFB, 32.Jg., Nr.47, 20.11.1930), cited in Peter Freimark, p.31.
- ¹³ Elia Munk (Altona, 3.4.1894), cited in Peter Freimark, p.26.
- ¹⁴ The volume of 1/3 of an egg of bread should be kept for each family, for up to eighteen families. That amount is sufficient even if 1000 people share the eruv. Elyahu Touger, *Kitzur Shulchon Oruch*, (New York: Moznaim Publishing Corporation, 1991), p.404.
- ¹⁵ Caesar Seligman, *Erinnerungen*, (Frankfurt:1975), cited in Peter Freimark, p.15.
- ¹⁶ Shimon D. Eider, p.8.
- ¹⁷ Eyal Weizman and Manuel Herz, "Between City and Desert: Constructing the North London Eruv", *AA Files 34*, p.76.



Intersection of Mass. Turnpike fence and overpass from Washington and Park Streets: As the two Street merge before they cross over the Mass. Turnpike there is a simple doorframe again with two poles on each side of the fence and a wire stretched between them. Both poles do not connect to the fence, so each pole has a small metal rod that connects the poles to the fence.

Contesting Identity



But the dive up and down within the self-set boundaries leads nowhere, unless self-set devices to cross them are also at work. Moving from flight to flight, more of us have come to see, not only that we live in many worlds at the same time, but also that these worlds are, in fact, all in the same place: the place each one of us is here and now.

Trinh T. Minh-ha¹

In the first section of the chapter, I examine historical and contemporary perceptions and often abjections of the eruv. As a prelude it should be noted that not everybody objects to the eruv and that those that do object include Jews and non-Jews. The arguments will not follow the geographical locations of the eruv that provoked feelings of abjection, but trace the different forms of purification of the public realm. The arguments against eruv range across diverse standpoints, from openly anti-Semitic objections to groups that are in favor of ethnic diversity and fear that an eruv would hamper the relationships within a multi-faceted community,² and to positions against the public display of religion. Regardless of their foundations, arguments opposed to the eruv are all concerned with regulating the “appropriate” presence of the Other within the public realm, where a homogenized public is the aspired ideal.

This view point of a purified public, in which structures from minority cultures are excluded, is contrasted with an analysis of the eruv as a symbiotic structure. The eruv challenges not only a homogenized public sphere as it belongs to a minority and hence contests its homogeneity, but the space it creates is heterogeneous and reflects both the majority and the minority cultures. The nomadic architecture of the eruv is superimposed over an already existing topography and is constructed in relationship to it. Hence the space delineated by an eruv is within a particular city with its specific appearance but at the same time it is within a specifically Jewish space, creating a space of connectivity where the Jewish community relates to the prevailing culture and its own simultaneously.



Intersection of the Mass. Turnpike fence, St. James Street overpass and a ramp onto the Mass. Turnpike: There is a pole on the left side of St. James Street at the fence and then the wire crosses over to the wall on the right side of the Mass. Turnpike. From here on the eruv follows the wall. I cannot walk along the fence till the next intersection.



Objections to Minority Expressions

Religious expressions that take place outdoors, at topographically precise places, are more likely to be exposed to inquiry and abjection. They have a physical presence that can be disputed and give a public presence to a particular person or group that is not necessarily welcome in the neighborhood. An eruv might attract more orthodox Jews and hence increase their presence. By regulating the physical alteration of the public realm, those in power control the presence of others and their construction of meaning in the public realm. While the city council in charge of the London eruv maintained in 1993 that they would decide on the application for the eruv only on planning considerations, the 6 years of debate that followed show that a physical structure cannot be divorced from its larger sociological context.

Objection to the visual presence of an eruv is often one of the first statements of disapproval. The representative of the Jewish community in Wandsbek, Germany, wrote in a letter in 1893 to the magistrate, who had demanded the removal of the eruv with the argument that the “gates” are a visual disturbance, that the poles and wires of the eruv are a minimal visual disturbance compared to all the telephone and electricity wires in the townscape.³ One hundred years later, people present identical arguments. In the controversy about the London eruv (and some American eruvim), some opposed it on the ground of the visual disturbance of the poles and wires. The supporters in turn claimed, that the roughly 85 poles are a minimal visual disturbance in relationship to the 40,000 already existing utility poles and the five million feet of wire already existing in this London neighborhood.⁴ It is only one step further, when the defiling character of the poles is projected onto their originators, the orthodox Jewish community, which would thus be defiling the public. The elements of the eruv are considered defiling because they indicate the presence, and potential increase of numbers, of a different group, which does not match the positive stereotypes of those, who oppose the eruv, and hence is rejected.

A more extreme example from an article in the German newspaper “Die Reform” (1848), shows the projection of already existing negative stereotypes (in parts of the population) onto the eruv, even though the physical characteristics of it do not support the claim made. The author stated that the gates of the eruv are in memory of the hanged Haman, and are in fact gallows gates (Galgenthore), to humiliate the non-Jewish population who has to pass below them.⁵ This (mis-)interpretation supports the particular, anti-Semitic stereotype of the Jews trying to humiliate and eradicate the gentile population, similar to slanders and accusations of poisoned wells and the killing of gentile children for Passover ritual. These negative stereotypes are then used to justify the expulsion of these structures and their people.



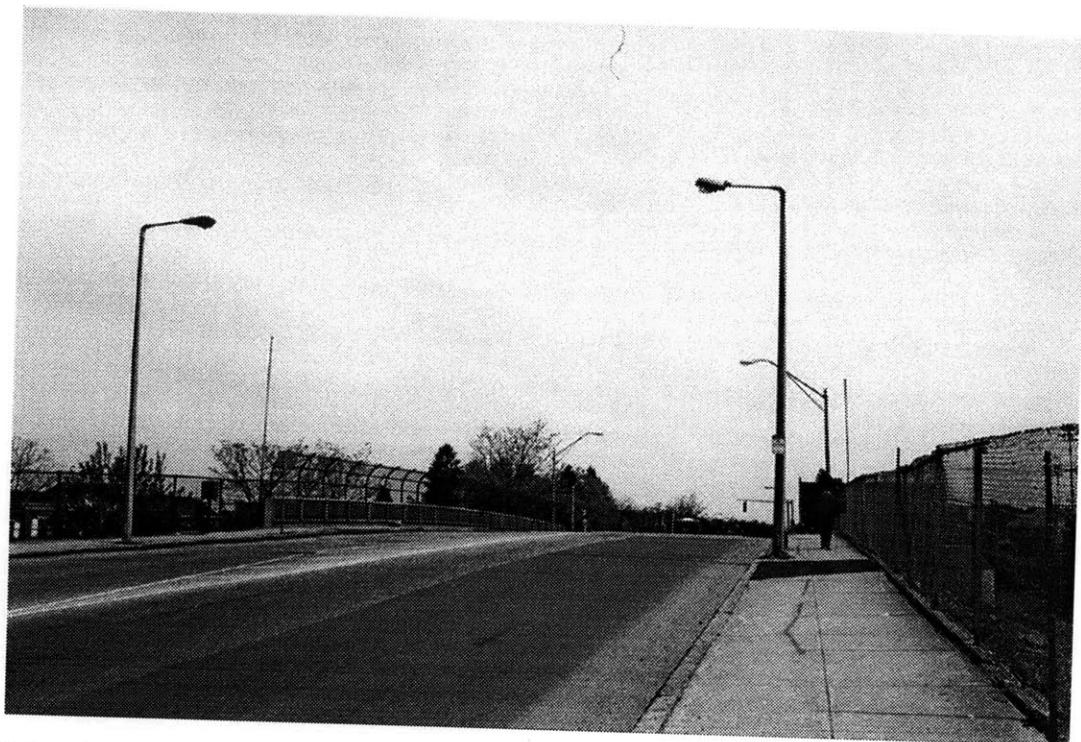
Distance: three walking hours – Underpass of North Beacon Street and the Mass. Turnpike: I think at this point there is nothing introduced into the urban landscape and the overpass itself functions as the symbolic doorframe.



In an area where people consider themselves as “normal” and part of the mainstream culture, those who deviate are met with anxieties and inscribed in stereotypes. When a minority as a group is present(ed) within the public, the individual is no longer perceived and dissolves into a single, often negative, stereotype, which one can then deprecate. Spaces and objects from non-mainstream cultures that are present in the public realm challenge the existing power structures and can be conceived as a threat by those who control the construction of meaning and signifiers within the public realm. Some within the mainstream culture are afraid of the space becoming alien or coming under the control of somebody else. They are afraid a minority would have the possibility to influence the public realm, creating a meaning where the majority culture is not in the center but relegated to the periphery. Through the process of purification of the public, geographies of exclusion are created in which negative stereotypes are banned from to maintain existing power structures.

In Germany, after the emancipation of the second half of the 19th century, the Jewish communities gained self-confidence and religious matters were brought out from the private sphere. Approaching religion as a public matter gave rise to more eruvim, as Freimark notes.⁶ A similar trend can be found in America, where the ‘coming of age’ of the orthodox community in the fifties has led to an increased interest in eruvim. Currently, North American orthodox communities that want to express their piousness try to establish an eruv as a sign of their seriousness. The London eruv is not necessarily related to a change in status of the orthodox community within the larger London Jewish community, but rather in the rise of self confidence as a minority. Lord Jakobovits, the former chief rabbi of London, describes the change as follows: “The increasingly pluralistic character of our city environment has emboldened Jews to seek facilities. ... These days religious minorities proudly affirm their customs and beliefs where formerly they often used to be very discreet.”⁷ The public assertion of identity is not univocally supported within the Jewish community. According to Madleine Bunting, most of the Jewish objectors to the London eruv are in their sixties and seventies; some of them came to Britain as refugees from the Holocaust or lived in the anti-Semitic East-End during the thirties. They want to maintain their ethnic identity while ensuring British tolerance, avoiding emphasizing their difference and keeping a low profile within the public.⁸

Although placing something in the public realm becomes an opportunity for the Jewish community to create meaning within the public realm, some Jews are afraid of the same structures becoming an opportunity for other, possible anti-Semitic interpretations, and incidents; the oppressed internalized the language of the oppressors. In a letter in 1893 the Mayor of Rauch, Germany, wrote to the Jewish community “We came finally to the conclusion, that the religious peculiarities expressed in the Jew-gates [*Judenthore*] grant targets and nourishment for anti-Semitic agitation, which is at the currently religious peace we luckily have at the moment in our city is not desirable [and



Distance: four walking hours – Intersection of Market Street and Mass. Turnpike fence: The overpass is closed with two poles and a wire stretched between them. I can see the Hancock and Prudential buildings for the first time. I have the feeling that I am leaving slowly suburbia and finally walk towards the city.



hence the Jew-gates should be taken down].”⁹ No effort is made to exclude the anti-Semitism. Instead, those that are the target of it are excluded, purifying the space of the victims not the aggressors. Times might have changed since then, and so far, there have not been any anti-Semitic attacks on eruv in America (the London one has not yet been constructed).

Other objections to the expression of orthodox Jewish religion in the public comes on the ground of the separation of religion and state. In several law suits in New York and New Jersey, the government’s permission for eruv in was challenged (by for example the ACLU) as violating the First Amendment clause separating church and state, on the basis that eruv in are religious symbols that are placed permanently on public property. In the case about the Long Branch (NY) eruv, the district Judge categorized the eruv not as a religious symbol but as an “almost invisible boundary in which its members may engage in secular activities on the Shabbat.” The judge compared it “to fixing sidewalks outside churches or providing utilities for outdoor religious gatherings.”¹⁰ It is problematic to consider the eruv a non-religious structure although it stems from a very particular religious system. Without its religious context, it is deprived of its meaning. Furthermore, the judgment simply avoids the question of what kind of religious structures should be allowed within the public realm. A discussion about the eruv as a religious structure in the public sphere could open up discussions about the (religious) presence of other minorities in relationship to the already existing presence of (the religion of) the mainstream culture. Ruth Elliot, Secretary of the London Lindale Avenue Resident’s Association states: “To me this [the eruv] is so much about fundamentalism, and I don’t just mean Jewish. If you draw a line in which Jews can do certain things, what’s to stop other religious groups demanding similar rights?”¹¹ We need to question whether all kinds of religious elements are or should be excluded from the public realm, or whether this exclusion affects only minorities.

The proposed dismissals of the eruv are on the basis of three characteristics that are deemed (by different groups) inappropriate for the public sphere: the visual clutter the poles would produce, the Jewish religious connotations the structure has, and the construction of boundaries per se. In each case, a negative stereotype of the orthodox Jewish community is constructed, and combined with place images, leading to “landscapes of exclusion.”¹² The eruv, as a expression of a particular identity, is in opposition to a homogenized public, as Iris Marion Young writes:

In a society where some groups are privileged while other groups are oppressed, insisting that as citizens, persons should leave behind their particular affiliations and experiences to adopt a general point of view, serves only to reinforce that privilege, for the perspectives and interests of the privileged will tend to dominate this unified public, marginalizing or silencing those of other groups.¹³



Cambridge Street overpass: There are actually two overpasses, one for cars and one for pedestrians. The pedestrian one is on the left side and there are two poles with the wire as the symbolical doorframe over the entrance to the overpass.



Although the eruv is religious in its design and not political, its placement in the public sphere, where existing power structures can be challenged, causes it to become a political issue for both its opponents and supporters. The exclusion of the eruv and the construction of negative stereotypes creates a dyadic system, in which the mainstream and its structures are the positive stereotype and the orthodox Jewish community and its structures are the negative stereotype. With the rejection of an eruv, the Jewish (orthodox) community is deprived of the opportunity to construct their own meaning within the public domain, because it would challenge the existing power structures. In a more heterogeneous public, with a multitude of "alternative public spheres,"¹⁴ the construction of identity within the public sphere could be discussed in a non-exclusionary manner. Of course this implies a fundamental change to the public sphere and the construction of alternatives. New spatial metaphors of the eruv that address its possibility for integration of difference without assimilation, could be a model for the transformation of the 'real and imagined spaces' of the city.

Symbiotic Construction of Space

The eruv presents a spatial and temporal symbiosis between a Jewish architecture and the city. The telephone poles, streets, fences and cables of the Boston eruv are part of everyday urban paraphernalia and at the same time they are part of a religious urban boundary. The difference between this symbiotic relationship and a "pure" overlay or insert becomes apparent when we look at the relationship between a synagogue and a city. As another specifically Jewish architecture, the synagogue is inserted into the existing fabric, while the eruv is laid over and connected to the city's structures. Most often, synagogues occupy entire buildings and only their facades are in dialogue with the surroundings. Their interior space can reveal a completely different world, even if local styles are adopted for its design. In contrast, the eruv is part of the existing city fabric, intertwined with it. If somebody wants to experience the space of the synagogue, they have to enter the space, and access to it, like into any other private space, is controlled. Anybody who can recognize the elements of the eruv can encounter it, because it is located in the public and exterior sphere.

As a symbiosis, the eruv combines the local architecture of a particular place with a specific Jewish architecture, where both kinds of architecture exist simultaneously. The property rights of the physical elements of the eruv are also joint. It does not belong to anybody exclusively. The structures and elements of the Boston eruv are owned by the Eruv Corporation, the Massachusetts Turnpike authorities, the telephone companies, the MBTA, and the city. The area inside the eruv, which does not physically change, needs to be rented by the greater Boston Eruv Corporation from the city in order to be considered legally as a single private domain.



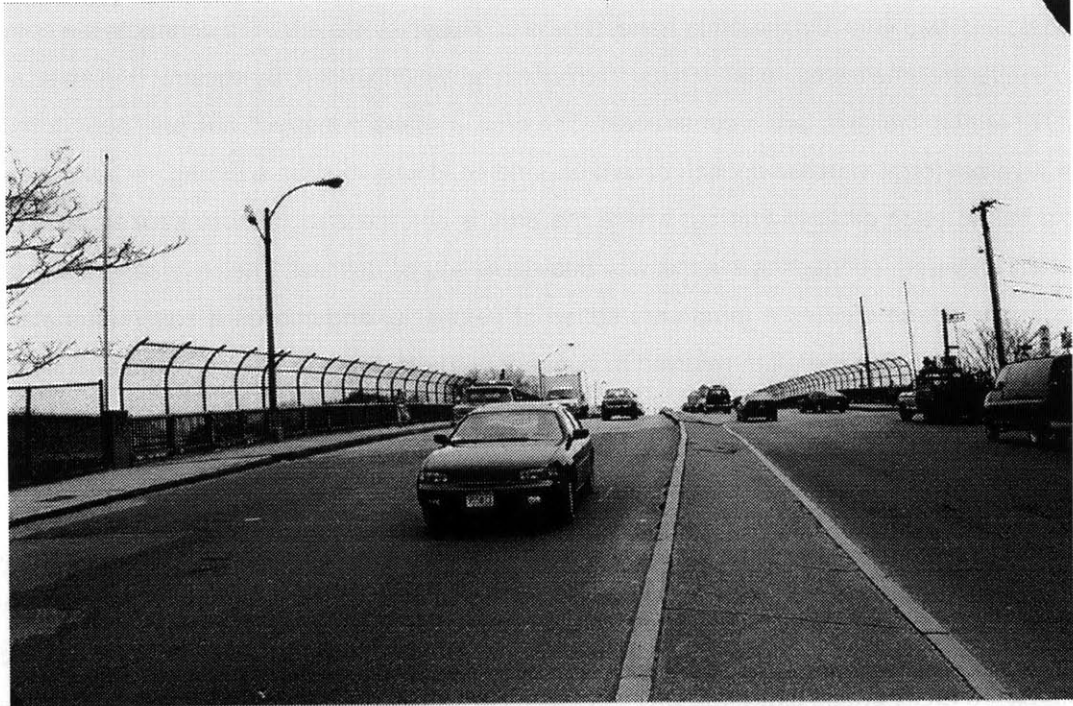
Cambridge Street overpass: The left pole connects to a pole further back at the taller fence of the overpass. I am not quite sure why the third pole is needed. Maybe because the fence in the front part is not tall enough to count as a wall.



The eruv works as well as a temporal symbiosis. The local architecture reflects the local history with its particular time frame, it connects the community to the time they are living in. This local architecture also constitutes the spatial constructs within which the community experiences the everyday, the lived time. On the other hand, time is collapsed by the eruv.¹⁵ It connects the community to a different time frame, to the history from which eruv originated. By constructing an eruv, the history of eruv, the laws, are reconstructed. The eruv, a spatial construct, has only been transmitted in a verbal form, whether spoken or written, and continues to have a strong verbal presence. People talk to each other to find out where the eruv is and the eruv is more spoken about than physically engaged, connecting it in this way back to its source, the text. The physical manifestation of the text in space creates a temporary sense of belonging, and implies a continuous place of dwelling, underpinning the often referred to concept of the text as the Jewish homeland. The text connects the individual eruv and its community to a larger community of observant Jews, while presenting a real and fictitious space where they reside in their contemporaneous time and their historical time at once.

How does a nomadic structure which engages in an ethics of foreignness create a sense of belonging that can be deployed at any location but still relates to the specific site conditions? “Private or public ownership has no bearing on the term ‘private domain.’”¹⁶ A space is defined as private based on its architecture, the way it is enclosed. The quotation suggests furthermore that a sense of belonging is not evoked by ownership and therefore by its concomitant residence at a permanent geographical position. Rather, a particular architecture, that of an enclosed space, has the potential to evoke a feeling of belonging. But how can a series of doorframes evoke a feeling of belonging? In his book *Voegele der Maggid* from 1858, Aron David Berstein explains the chain of associations of the eruv as follows, “because a doorway is as good as a wall, and a wall is as good as a house.”¹⁷ Micha Josef Berdyczewski in his description of Tulna (19th century?) takes the association chain one link further, “... the city had an eruv, an enclosure, an enclosure that simultaneously surrounded it and made it into a large family dwelling.”¹⁸ Accordingly, placing doorframes in the (Jewish and common) public, the image of a family dwelling is evoked. By divorcing the sense of belonging from a particular place and associating it with a specific architecture, any site, regardless of its location and scale, can become a place of belonging if specific architectural elements are applied to the site. The Jewish community cannot be characterized as belonging to a place. Instead, a place becomes a place of belonging when they place certain objects there – the boundary and the food.

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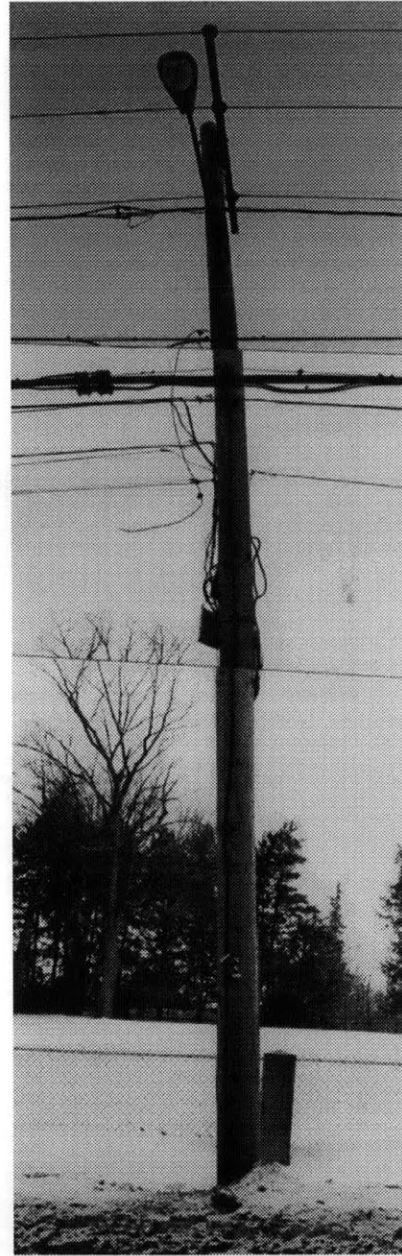


Cambridge Street overpass: The eruv continues from the right pole along the Mass. Turnpike fence to another pole and a wire crosses over the Street part of the overpass to another pole.



The common food underpins further the nomadic construction of belonging. “Since the main dwelling place of a person is where his food is found,”¹⁹ a place is not a place of belonging for a people only because they were born there or by virtue of ownership of the place, but rather by the presence of the communal food. The presence of food and hence the activity of eating there, expresses one’s (temporary) belonging to that place. The concept of belonging expressed by the means of food has its counterpart on *Pessach*, where not-belonging is also expressed with food. On *Pessach*, when the exodus from Egypt is commemorated, a *seder* is celebrated which consists of reading the story of the exodus and eating particular foods in commemoration of the events, which become enlivened by the taste buds; saltwater is used to symbolize tears, bitter herbs the bitter times of enslavement; *Matzah*, the unleavened bread, symbolizes a transitory life. Ironically, *Matzah*, which symbolizes the exodus from Egypt, is often used for the communal food of the eruv, which symbolizes belonging.

No particular place presents a place of connectivity, such a place is established by the eruv boundary and the communal food. However, the eruv boundary is in direct relationship to the particular site conditions, and existing urban boundaries are integrated into the eruv boundary. Similarly, the communal food is located in one of the most stationary places of the community, usually the rabbi’s house or a synagogue. Although on an abstract level, the boundary and the communal food define, even create the place of belonging, they cannot subsist without the existing structures at a particular place. At the Boston eruv, the height of existing structures like utility poles is used to construct tall elements without having to construct stable vertical structures. The *lechis*, which could not stand up on their own, are just attached to the existing utility poles. The extant structures are integrated into the visual presence of the eruv boundary, forming walls and doorframes of the symbolic house.



Plastic conduit (*lechis*) attached to a utility pole as a doorpost



Distance: five walking hours – Intersection of Commonwealth Avenue and Mass. Turnpike fence: The Mass. Turnpike, from being an elevated highway, dips down and crosses below Commonwealth Avenue. There is a fence that attaches to the Mass. Turnpike and then a pole is attached to that fence. The wire goes from the pole on the left side to the steep post from the subway system in the middle of Commonwealth Avenue, and a *lechi* is attached to that post.



Structures from minorities especially when they are placed in the public sphere are often considered a threat to the majority culture. They challenge the grand narratives of the majority culture with their own narrative(s) and diversify the public sphere visually and sociologically. The opinion that the public sphere should be homogeneous and religious structures from minorities should be banned from it is challenged by a spatial practice that combines the majority and minority narratives without one absorbing by the other. The interpretation of the eruv as a symbiotic structure creates a space where the different cultures are in dialogue. Structures form a particular place are integrated into the more essential concepts of erubin that have remained the same over time and location. This creates a place of belonging, related to a particular place, its culture and time frame, and to the entire Jewish culture and history of erubin from around the world, from ancient times until today. An eruv connects a Jewish community to the prevailing community inside their eruv, and simultaneously to all the other Jewish communities. This view of the eruv creates a paradoxical space, which is concurrently local and global, sacred and profane, and non-specific Jewish and specific to a particular place. Perhaps a new kind of space begins to emerge via the co-existence of these opposite notions

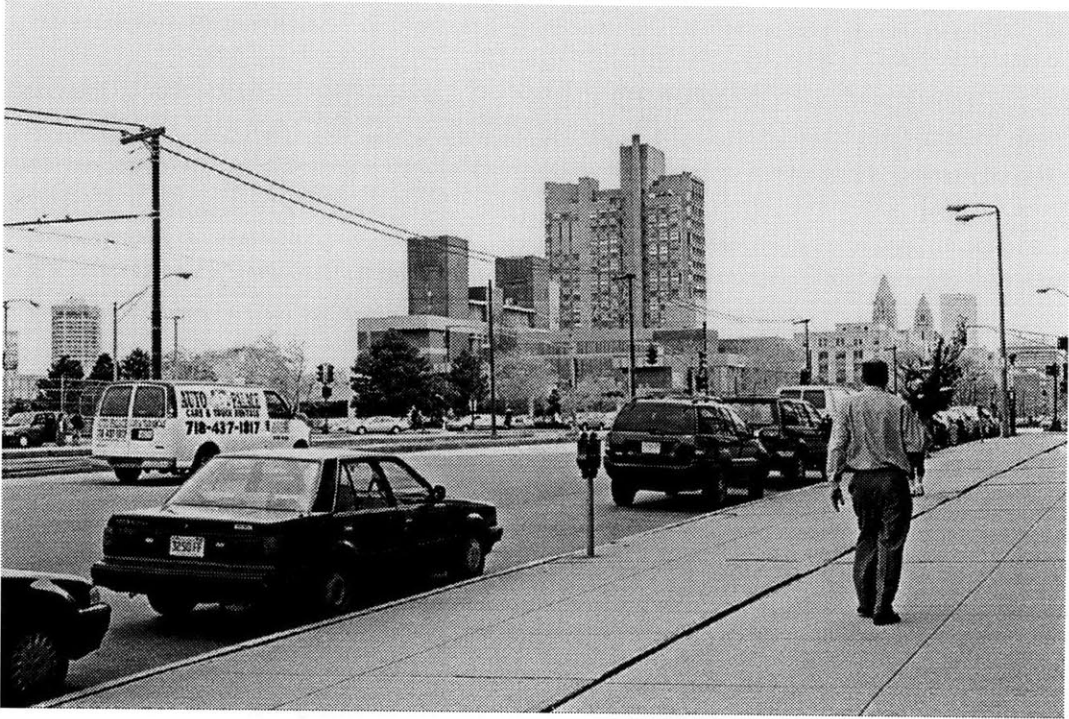


Commonwealth Av. Near Mass. Turnpike: The two metal post on each side of the train tracks and the cables between them form the doorframe for the eruv. From the second pole the eruv continues to a third pole along the subway tracks and a wire is stretched between them as a symbolic lintel.



Notes:

- ¹ Trinh T.Minh-ha, "An Acoustic Journey", *Rethinking Borders*, John C. Welchmann ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p.14.
- ² While most American eruvim have gotten little attention in the press, the discussions around the London eruv have been covered extensively by the English and international press. More than seventy articles have been written in major newspapers over the last seven years about the controversy. There are also sources of discussions about eruvim in German newspapers). Peter Freimark's research suggests that eruv were fairly common in Germany before the Holocaust.
- ³ All texts and citations in the essay by Peter Freimark are translated by the author. Cited in Peter Freimark, "Eruw/<Judentore>. Zur Geschichte einer rituellen Institution im Hamburger Raum," *Hamburger Beitrage Zur Geschichte Der Deutschen Juden, Band IX*, (Hamburg: Hans Christian Verlag, 1983), p.44.
- ⁴ David Sharrock, "On The Dividing Line," *The Guardian*, 24 February 1993, p.2.
- ⁵ Cited in Peter Freimark, p.24.
- ⁶ Peter Freimark, p.49.
- ⁷ Madleine Bunting, "Going to the Wire," *The Guardian*, December 14, 1993, p.22.
- ⁸ Ibid, p.22.
- ⁹ Letter from the Mayor of Rauch from October 16,1893 to the Jewish community, cited in Peter Freimark, p.43.
- ¹⁰ Howard Rosenberg, "Orthodox Jews Seek a Symbolic Zone; 'Eruv' Would Allow Activity on Shabbat," *The Washington Post*, 15 March 1990, p.J1.
- ¹¹ David Sharrock, "On The Dividing Line," *The Guardian*, 24 February 1993, p.2.
- ¹² David Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*, (London:Routledge, 1995), p.14.
- ¹³ Iris Marion Young, *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p.120.
- ¹⁴ Nancy Duncan, "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces," *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender*, Nancy Duncan, ed. (London: Routledge, 1996).
- ¹⁵ Shirley Ardener, "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction", *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd., 1993), p.6. Shirley Ardener writes about a resident of Israel who by settling in Israel felt closer to David than to the shtetl in Poland, from which he emigrated.
- ¹⁶ D. Eider, *A summary of the Halachost of the Eruv*, (Lakewood:Rabbi Shimon D.Eider: 1973), p.1.
- ¹⁷ Aron David Berstein, *Voegel der Maggid*, (1858), cited in Peter Freimark, p.16.
- ¹⁸ Micha Josef Berdyczewski, *Aus einer Judenstadt*, Buecherei des Schocken-Verlags Nr.67), cited in Peter Freimark, p.15.
- ¹⁹ Shimon D. Eider, p.8.



Commonwealth Av. Near Mass. Turnpike: A wire crosses from the third post over the right side of Commonwealth Avenue and attaches to a light pole.



Ethics of Space



If a stranger lives with you in your land, do not molest him. You must count him as one of your own countrymen and love him as yourself - for you were once strangers yourself in Egypt.

Leviticus 19-33

In the following chapter the eruv is related to three Jewish historical narratives and their contemporary interpretations: the Tabernacle, the Book of Ruth and the pact in the desert. All three relate in different ways to the Jews' own history of being placeless and hence foreign. The Tabernacle was the portable sacred space during the Jews wandering in the desert after the Exodus from Egypt. The pact is a scene that also takes place during that time and is part of the formation of covenant between the Jews and God. The Book of Ruth addresses (among other issues) Ruth's foreignness among the Jews and relates it to the Jew's own foreignness in the land of Egypt.

In the first section, the eruv is compared to the tabernacle and its spatial concepts as outlined by Kunin.¹ The Tabernacle creates a dyadic categorization of space into pure and defiled and sacred and profane respectively. This classification can be superimposed over the eruv's dyadic categorization of spaces into public or private domains by Jewish law. The comparison of the eruv with the Tabernacle leads to an interpretation of the private domain as pure and the public domain as defiled. Although the analogy with the tabernacle is new, the resulting spatial concepts resemble traditional views of the eruv as a dyadic structure with a strongly reinforced boundary at the outside of the community.



Commonwealth Av. And Mountfort Street: From the Streetlight a wire crosses over Mountfort Street and attaches to a pole that is connected to the Mass. Turnpike fence again.



The second section is based on an ethics of foreignness, which has been elaborated in different contexts by Rachel Adler² and Julia Kristeva³ through the Book of Ruth and by Emanuel Levinas in his essay "The Pact."⁴ This ethics of foreignness is based on the diasporic tradition of the Jews and their encounter with the stranger within and among themselves. In relationship to the Book of Ruth and the Pact, one can explain the eruv as a space of integration, which goes beyond the dyadic conception of the eruv in regard to Jewish law and the Tabernacle. Here, difference is not controlled and bound into separate categories, where the boundaries are strictly reinforced. Instead, differences coexist creating a more inclusive space.

Historic Sacred Spaces

Aspiration toward separation and exclusion can be found in both mainstream cultures and in minority cultures. Independent of the particular culture, the wish for exclusion is often related to the concept of purification, in which the defiled is excluded from certain areas to raise the degree of purity and create greater homogeneity. Although exclusion is in itself based on a discriminatory concept, its homogenizing effects can strengthen the communal identities of minorities. Those in power have the power to introduce the rules of purification, and sustain the maintenance of written and unwritten laws of purification through monitoring, in itself the expression of a power structure. The inversion of boundaries can challenge these power structures, which can then be used by the oppressed for their own means.⁵ The construction of spatial boundaries varies over time and from place to place, and some groups are more heterogeneous than others, freed from the fear of difference.

In traditional Jewish law, people can either be permanently impure or not pure enough for certain activities or they become impure only for certain periods of time due to their actions or bodily functions. In a state of impurity one is not only prohibited from performing certain actions but one is restricted from specific spaces as well. So the laws of purity become a regulatory device for social interaction. Kunin has discussed the relationship between purity and sacred spaces, and the following account of different concepts of sacred Jewish space are based on his book, *God's Place in the World*.

The conception of sacredness is tied closely to levels of purity in one of the first sacred spaces of the Israelites as a people, the camp with the tabernacle in the desert during their exodus. The tabernacle was divided into four zones, each with an increased level of holiness. These zones can be organized in a concentric model with the camp forming a fifth circle around the tabernacle. In the concentric model, the most outer circle is the camp with the laity and the most inner circle is the Holy of Holies, to which only the high priest has access. Those who were considered impure had to



Intersection of Carlton and Mass. Turnpike fence: There are two poles one on each side of the fence with a wire stretched between them. I am not quite sure what the name of the Street is, which actually crosses over the Mass. Turnpike as there are three Streets converging at this location.



leave the camp altogether. The sacredness of the zones is directly related to purity, because each increased level of holiness corresponds to an increased level of purity, because “impurity is the element which can lead to exclusion from holy precincts.”⁶ In this equation, sacredness and purity become the two sides of the same coin. The underlying structure of the concentric model demonstrates that each circle is in direct opposition to the ones outside of it, creating a dyadic model of pure/impure at each level, leading to a hierarchy of purity among people. Looking from the outermost circle, from the camp, “the nations of the world, those people outside of the camp, are impure, that is, in opposition to the relative or progressive purity of Israel.”⁷ According to the theological concept in which the sacredness of a space depends on the purity of the people inside, the boundaries need to be monitored strictly in order to prevent defilement and hence de-sanctification. “Any element which seems to mediate or bridge the two categories must be transformed to fit fully in one category or the other,”⁸ otherwise it would threaten the underlying framework. This shows as well that the spatial framework constructed on purity and impurity becomes a moral one as well, which tries to prevent the people inside the camp to mix with those outside. This construction of a purified space heightens the consciousness of difference for the Israelites, precisely during the formative period of their “people hood.” The positive effect is that the community is strengthened, while on the other hand, values of abjection and a fear of mixing are fostered.

Before turning to the eruv to show the parallels in the framework constructed and the effects with the eruv, it is useful to discuss additional concepts of Jewish sacred space as laid out by Kunin. The concentric model of sacred space is centralized, like the camp with the tabernacle, where each center is unique and a dualism between the center and the periphery is established. Set in contrast to this is the model of non-centralized sacred space, where several different sites are equally sacred at the same time. These sites are sacred due to certain actions that took place there, like Beth El and Mount Carmel.⁹ This multiplicity of sacred places can be described in a segmented model with multiple centers. The concentric model relies on a duality that ultimately reinforces very strong boundaries. The segmented model is less engaged in a separation from the outside world and deals more with diversity from within. It accommodates multiplicity and is better expressed as an internal segmentation. The two models are interconnected, because in situations where the external boundary is less important, a greater internal segmentation is accepted and vice versa. Kunin suggests also that while the two different structures might be “artifacts from different historical periods, it is also possible that they reflect two different views of the editorial present, one functional and the other ideological.”¹⁰ I would even propose that the two models can co-exist to emphasize different aspects of one ideology, both of which will be illuminated in detail with the eruv later.

Both kinds of sacred spaces can be either static or dynamic. Dynamic sacred spaces are



Intersection of St. Mary's Street and the Mass. Turnpike fence: On both sides of the fence is a metal pole attached and a twine is stretched between them. The right pole is not directly connected to the fence and hence a thin metal pole connects the pole to the fence.



independent of a particular geography and become sacred through their internal organization or through particular transportable objects.

In this respect [dynamic sacred space] fits with the narrative nomadic model developed by the text. Dynamic sacred space is temporary and disassociated from physical space. It is based on the conjunction of other significant categories, objects, people, and activities, rather than locations.¹¹

This is exemplified by the tabernacle, which was transportable in order to be carried along during the journey of the Israelites in the desert. The tabernacle gained its sacredness through the objects kept inside it, the tablets of the Ten Commandments, the pure people, and the activities performed inside, like the preparation of sacrifices. Static sacred spaces are associated with specific sites, for example the temple in Jerusalem. Dynamic sacred space is indispensable for any nomadic people. However, in comparison to “truly” nomadic societies, the Israelites always had a static sacred space, as they were promised Israel before they really became a nation, and Israel (with borders different from contemporary Israel’s) is part of their concept of nationhood.

The spatial concepts of sacred Jewish space discussed above can be used to interpret the spatial concepts underlying and produced by the eruv. Although I will eventually challenge this dyadic lens with a more symbiotic lens, viewing the eruv through a dyadic lens can be useful. The eruv follows spatial concepts similar to other Jewish sacred spaces. The boundary of the eruv exemplifies both the negative concept of exclusion due to difference as well as its positive counterpart – the strengthening of the community and its self-image.

The eruv must first qualify as a sacred space, before being analyzed in relationship to the different spatial models outlined by Kunin. Both homes and places of study (sometimes they are one and the same) are sacred spaces due to the activities, the people, and the objects inside them. The buildings themselves have no sacredness and when people move, they take in a sense some of the sacredness of a place with them. There are no prayers said over the eruv boundary, and therefore the space inside the eruv has traditionally not been considered a sacred space. However, if we imagine that the boundaries of the homes and synagogues are eliminated and instead only one boundary exists around the entire community, then everything inside it becomes a sacred space due to the presence of the homes and synagogues. It is as if the boundaries of the homes and the synagogues are stretched and united to form one boundary around the entire area – as if many cells join to form one large cell with a single cell membrane. The public domain is transformed, or taken over, by the private domain until it fits completely into the category of the private domain. From a legal point of view, no overlapping categories occur. If a space ‘needs’ to change it has to adopt all the characteristics of the other category, otherwise it would pose a threat to the framework. If the space



Distance: six walking hours – Intersection of Beacon Street and Mass. Turnpike fence: A pole is attached on the left side of Beacon Street to the Mass. Turnpike fence. A wire runs from that pole to a wooden pole, located at the intersection of Beacon Street and Maitland Street just before the Mass. Turnpike.



of the eruv were a third kind of space, it would have a liminal character. Consequently it would open up other possibilities and challenges the underlying framework from within the legal system. Although this might happen on a psychological level, where the public space of the eruv might be a more private space, constituting a third kind of space.

Now, the eruv can be analyzed as a sacred space in regard to Kunin's models. The eruv can be classified as a dynamic model of sacred space. An eruv is not bound to specific sites. Its sacredness comes from the objects, people, and activities inside it. One could go even so far as to claim that, because its sacredness comes from the homes and places of study inside it, and because these places are dynamic models of sacred space, the eruv is a dynamic sacred space too. Like the dynamic sacred space of the tabernacle, the eruv is as an object adjusted to a nomadic use and can be moved or be rebuilt in different places. It is independent of a specific site. This underpins further the nomadic construction methods for eruvim.

The categorization of the space of the eruv as a concentric or segmented model is more difficult. The task becomes easier if we look at it separately during the week and during Shabbat. During the week, the different households and synagogues constitute different sacred spaces. This would then be like the segmented model, which encourages internal diversity and is more flexible towards boundaries. This model gives the individual households greater freedom and respect. On a larger scale, the different communities around the world constitute their own places of sacredness and are treated within the segmented model as equals. On Shabbat, all the different sacred spaces inside a particular eruv are unified into one large sacred space with a precise boundary, and the space inside the eruv is then like the centralized model. Through the passage of time, both models co-exist in the people's mind, creating a paradoxical model of the space in general, which is neither segmented nor centralized but both.

One aspect of the centralized model is the interconnectedness of the concept of sacredness with the concept of purity. If we follow the analogy of sacredness and purity established by the spatial divisions in the tabernacle, one can conclude that the eruv creates a dyadic system where the inside of the eruv, like the camp, is pure and the outside of the eruv, like the outside of the camp, is impure. The problems of pure versus impure are indirectly reinforced by the problems that arise when leaving the area of the eruv, where one may not carry. Many might not even leave the area because then they have to worry about not carrying, or they cannot take a stroller or wheelchair to an area outside it. This creates an egocentric view, where the inside becomes the center, because it is the center of activity, and the space outside the eruv gets pushed into the margin. The space within the eruv thus becomes more important than the space outside it, and moreover, the outside becomes associated with restrictions, it becomes a negative space that needs to be avoided. If the space outside the eruv



Beacon Street and Maitland Street: From the wooden pole the wire runs to a metal pole which is attached to a little booth, that looks like a bus stop. The wire runs then to the next metal pole and then along the fence to the other metal poles.



is met with negative feelings, those feelings are easily reflected onto the people living in that 'negative' space, in which case the people inside would create their own 'geography of exclusion'.

On the other hand, the eruv has the potential to change the self-image of the Jewish community in situations where they are considered the Other. The association of private and public domains with pure and defiled spaces respectively creates a spatial division, where the area inside the eruv is private and pure and the area outside the eruv is public and impure. This concept can be used to invert the mapping of margin and center. The eruv could have subverted the meaning of oppressive structures into liberating ones, although there is little evidence to support this hypothesis. Historically, Jewish communities have often been restricted to certain areas of a town, which were often even walled in. In contrast to these borders, the eruv is a self-imposed containment boundary for the community. If an oppressive boundary like a ghetto wall were used to create an eruv, its meaning would be undermined. The ghetto walls restrict movement while the eruv facilitates movement, hence the ghetto walls would have been deprived of their negative connotations and be used for a positive boundary. A city's ghetto walls restricted the movement between the domain of the Christians and the Jews, where the Jews were considered "the impure." As the space inside an eruv is considered pure and the space outside is the impure space, the boundary that defines the Jewish community as the impure becomes subverted into a boundary that defines their area as pure, and with it, them.

The construction of an eruv moves the Jewish community on a psychological level into the center, relegating the majority culture to the margin, and is hence empowering. However, even when the Jewish community constructs their own map of center/margin, they remain in the margin in the larger social context.. This does not mean that the Jewish community's viewpoint is lost, but rather, as bell hooks describes it, the margin itself becomes the site of resistance and self-centering. "[T]hat space of refusal, where one can say no to the colonizer, no to the downpressor, is located in the margins. And one can only say no, speak the voice of resistance, because there exists a counter-language."¹² The architecture of the eruv constitutes this counter-language. However, with the eruv, the inversion of the margin/center relationship is based on a dyadic system, and hence the self-image constructed above (by me) is equally based on a dichotomy, where the center defines itself through and against the margin, not independent of it. There is a danger, that the eruv becomes itself oppressive instead of liberating and empowering. Especially for a structure like the eruv, that has often been interpreted as separatist, it is important, that as T. Minh-ha phrases it, "[s]uch articulations [(dis/re)articulation of identity] remain informed by an awareness of both the enabling and dis-enabling potentials of the divisions within and between cultures."¹³ Otherwise, the eruv, as a tool that challenges the exclusionary space created by the mainstream, would itself lead to the



Maitland Street near Beacon Street: From the last metal pole on the parking lot the eruv continues along the fence.



construction of a negative other. One might also attempt a non-dichotomizing approach, in which differences co-exist. This does not exclude bell hook's approach to the margin as a site of resistance (which is anyway much more open than a dyadic eruv), nor the empowering possibilities of transforming psychologically oppressive structures into liberating ones. There is, however, yet another layer of meaning, which goes beyond a dyadic concept, and which creates a space of interaction and accepted difference.

Ethics of Foreignness

The Jews' own foreignness at a particular point in time, a situation which was then repeated over and over again in their history, becomes the basis for an ethics against estrangement. It is not only forbidden to molest the stranger but she/he needs to be accepted amid them and his/her feelings of estrangement should be neutralized. Estrangement is a form of maintaining the boundary between "us" and "them,"¹⁴ and the feeling of estrangement can only be countered by crossing this boundary and considering the stranger as one who belongs in the community. The division that arises easily between two different kinds of people must hence be actively bridged by "counting [the stranger] as one of [them]" and by "loving [the stranger] as [themselves]." Only by acknowledging the possibility of estrangement can it be counteracted. The last part of the quotation "If a stranger lives with you in your land, do not molest him. You must count him as one of your own countrymen and love him as yourself - for you were once strangers yourself in Egypt." alludes not only to their own feeling of estrangement but as well to their oppression in the land of Egypt. It is a reminder that the stranger, as a minority in another's land, is often powerless and hence vulnerable to exploitation. Respect must be given to a foreigner due to her/his situation.

In the book of Ruth, we can find the same ethics of foreignness towards the character of Ruth. Ruth's father in law, Elimelech, left Judah to settle in Moab, a foreign kingdom, where his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion marry Moabite women. After all three men of the family die, Naomi, the wife of Elimelech, cannot support herself and her two daughters-in-law in this foreign land and sends them back to their own mothers to seek shelter. One of them, Ruth, refuses to leave Naomi, and goes with her to Judah where she marries a relative of Elimelech, Boaz, and gives birth to a son whom Naomi raises and who will be the father of King David. At the first encounter between Boaz and Ruth, Ruth asks "Why have you been so kind as to recognize me, when I am a stranger?"¹⁵ Ruth alludes here to the passage from Leviticus and reminds Boaz that he should treat her with respect although she is a foreigner, because he knows the feelings and vulnerability of a foreigner from his own people's history. She makes clear that she crosses the boundary between "us" and "them" and asks him to acknowledge her as one among them, giving her Israelite status.¹⁶



Miner Street and fence: The fence is just from a property line. A metal pole is attached to the fence on the left side and the other pole is attached to a fence that belongs already to the MBTA. At the right side of the pole, the Subway comes just above ground. It is right above the opening where the trains come out of the interior subway system to the exterior subway system.



This inclusion of the foreigner is at the root of Jewish royalty, as Ruth was King David's grandmother. The Book of Ruth is set in a dark period, "in a time when the Judges ruled, there was a famine in the land of Israel."¹⁷ The inclusion of the foreigner is needed for transformation, and the dark period of the Judges is followed by a prosperous time under King David. Kristeva points out : "Ruth the foreigner is there to remind ...[us] that the divine revelation often requires a lapse, the acceptance of radical otherness, a recognition of foreignness that one might have tended at the very first to consider the most degraded."¹⁸ Ruth's role is not to encourage deviation from the rules but rather to offer, with her later conversion, the opportunity to integrate foreign elements without leaving the covenant. However, one could argue that Ruth loses her foreignness, through her conversion.¹⁹ On the other hand, somebody who converts but who comes from another place and culture retains his/her own history even after the conversion. The need for foreign elements for transformations is also expressed by Abraham, who had to leave his father's house and his birthplace before he could become one of the forefathers. Abraham the Hebrew, literally, 'the cross-over', had to become foreign before initiating a new community. Tellingly, Abraham, the foreigner, becomes the forefather of "a race of strangers."

The sovereignty that is founded by the foreignness is opened up according to Kristeva to "the dynamics of a constant, inquisitive, and hospitable questioning, eager for the other and for the self as other."²⁰ This concept of the other and the self as other is staged in a spatial form in one of the scenes of the pact between God and the Israelites. The following excerpts about the scene of the pact at Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal have been compiled and discussed beautifully by Levinas in his lecture about the pact.²¹ The text about the pact is from the *Mishna*, and is worth quoting at length.

Six tribes went up to the top of mount Gerizim and six tribes went up to the top of mount Ebal. And the *cohanim* [priests] and the Levites and the Ark stood below in the midst; ... And all Israel and their elders and officers and their judges stood on this side of the Ark and on that. They turned their faces to mount Gerizim and began with their blessing. Blessed be the man that maketh not a graven or molten image. And both these and these answered, 'Amen!' They turned their faces to mount Ebal and began with the curse, 'cursed be the man' who makes a graven or molten image. And both these and these answered 'Amen!' – until they completed the blessings and the cursings. And afterwards they brought all the stones and built the altar and plastered it with plaster. And they wrote thereon all the words of the Law in seventy languages, as it is written 'very plainly.'²²



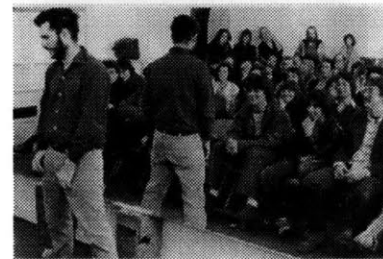
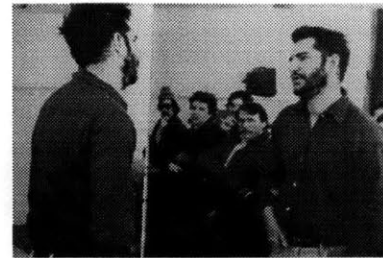
Park Drive and MBTA fence: On each side of Park Drive a pole is attached and a wire stretches between them. Below Park Drive is Fenway station.



The scene on the two mountains addresses the engagement on several levels with the other as different and as within. The spatial arrangement of the people on the two mountains facing each other is like an animation of both sides of a mirror. This becomes clearer when we compare the scene on the mountain with a performance by Dan Graham. In the performance *Performer/Audience/Mirror*²³ from 1977, the audience sits in front of a mirror and Dan Graham performs the same piece once facing the audience with his back to the mirror, and once facing the audience in the mirror with his back to the audience. In this performance, the audience is both viewer and viewed, in the audience and on stage. The same can be said about the people on the two mountains. Each side becomes the mirror for the other side, so that the people on each mountain are simultaneously in the audience and on stage.

Foucault describes the mirror as a site “between utopias and these quite other sites, heterotopias,”²⁴ which provoke a mixed and joint experience of both places. According to Foucault, the mirror is an utopia because one can see oneself where one is not. One becomes present in a place of absence. The people from one mountain become present on the opposite mountain. They, as individuals, are not present there. They are rather represented by others. As a community, however, they are mirrored on the other mountain and are hence present where they are not as individuals. All see themselves as and in the other. The spatial construct is heterotopic in the sense that each side presents a ‘countersite’ to the position the other side presents. One mountain represents the positive reinforcement of a law, the other mountain the negative reinforcement of the same law. Both sides are present at the same time as both sides answer together after each laws recitation with a communal ‘Amen.’ The negative’s reflection in the mirror is positive and vice versa. Thus the other is woven into the self. The negative, the curse, is not excluded or banned from the site but integrated as a necessary part of the positive formulation.

One could extend this thought further – those who are other and might be met with negative feelings need to be included into the image of oneself. In another text about the same scene in the Book of Joshua,²⁵ the description of the people is slightly different: “all Israel, sojourner and homeborn, with their elder and officers and their judges, stood on opposite sides of the Ark...” This source emphasizes that ‘sojourner and homeborn’ were present at the scene. Everybody was included in



Dan Graham, 1977
Performer/ Audience/ Mirror



Longwood Station at the MBTA line: the doorframe for the eruv is formed by the two steel posts, which hold up the train cables, on each side of the pedestrian crossing over the tracks. To each of those poles very light colored plastic conduits are attached for the symbolic doorposts, which one can only see from the outside of the eruv. One cannot see them from inside the eruv, one knows that they are there.



this scene, independent of heritage, and everybody mirrored everybody else giving all an equal standing. A similar inclusiveness can be found in the writing of the laws on the altar in seventy languages. By this gesture, the laws were made available not only to the people of Israel, who adopted them, but to all the nations of the world. In a sense, the pact was extended beyond the boundaries of the camp to all other people.

By establishing a single private domain in the public realm, an eruv constructs an inclusive space for a single symbolic household, in which everybody is included, not only the Jewish community. Inside an apartment or house, the individual families can control whom they let enter into their private lives, facilitating exclusionary practices. Inside a symbolic house constructed in the public, such an exclusionary practice is no longer possible. The eruv amalgamates at its interior all the different spaces no matter who resides inside them into a single private domain. Spaces are only excluded from the area of the eruv if they are uninhabitable like bodies of water and cemeteries. All people, regardless of their heritage or religion are part of the 'new' household created. Those outside and inside the community are mixed together, and no place has a higher standing than another place. With the eradication of the boundaries between spaces the boundaries between people are also symbolically abolished. The communal food ties the people inside the symbolic house together and creates a household in the public sphere. While the eruv boundary delineates a private space – a house – the communal food represents a symbolic pooling of resources, as if a single family would live inside this house. The *eruv chazerot* (the food) is made as follows: “On Friday, one of the owners of the homes should take a whole loaf of bread that belongs to him and – using another person as an agent – grants a share in it to all the people living [inside the eruv].”²⁶ The agent should not be from the person's immediate family. In the same way as the private sphere is extended into the public one, the family membership is extended to those outside the immediate family, who are probably outside the person's private domain. It thus extends the person's family into the public sphere, and establishes a household that bridges between the private and the public, between those who are familiar and those who are not.

The ethics of foreignness, the prohibition against molesting foreigners, is furthermore woven into the legal and physical construction of the eruv. The eruv's visual modesty, imposed or chosen, can be interpreted as a means of trying to prevent feelings of estrangement for those ideologically outside the eruv. (Of course, it should be questioned why people feel estranged by the presence of somebody else's architectural appearance in public. Should not the public space be accessible for everybody's architecture, independent of their status as a member of a minority or majority, so that the public becomes a diverse place?) One could look at the eruv as a one-way filter; it restrains the movement of the (orthodox) people from the inside to the outside, as if the air below



Distance: seven walking hours – Longwood Avenue and the MBTA fence: the Poles are attached at the ground to the fence, below the overpass. The poles are tall enough to reach above the overpass and the wire between them crosses over Longwood Avenue.



the gates' lintels solidifies for them, while it does not prohibit anybody from entering or leaving the space. As the eruv is constructed nowadays with many doorways but without any doors, it is completely permeable. The doorways are more like passageways so that those who do not care about the eruv can continue their lifestyles without interruption.

The interpretations of historical narratives by Kunin, Adler, Kristeva and Levinas show the continuous pertinence of these ancient narratives for contemporary spatial and ethical concepts. The reading of the eruv in relationship to these contemporary interpretations relates the 2000 year old practice of erubin to the body of thoughts of our time, and makes it hence more relevant to our contemporary concerns. Especially the comparison to the writings of Adler, Kristeva and Levina relates the eruv to the discussions that try to overcome dyadic spatial divisions based on an ethics of foreignness that is neither assimilative nor exclusive. Both Adler and Kristeva deviate from the traditional readings of the Book of Ruth to find a more inclusive ethics that is still grounded in ancient texts, and I have tried to follow the road they paved.

The comparison of the eruv to Kunin's interpretation of the Tabernacle leads to a dyadic division, where the inside, private domain, is codified positively and the outside negatively. This dyadic view can be helpful to empower the Jews by inverting the social map of margin/ center, in which the Jewish community is usually relegated to the margin. However, even if this changes the self-image of the Jewish community, it is still based on a dyadic system. The danger remains that the eruv itself becomes oppressive and creates a negative other. A dyadic system is furthermore limiting as a spatial concept because of its strict categorization of spaces within an either-or system, where difference cannot reside simultaneously, and hence no new characteristics can emerge.

By drawing a different analogy, to the Book of Ruth and the Pact, the eruv can be a space of exchange, where difference coexist. Difference is "redefined as *variation*, rather than *deviation*,"²⁷ and the need for foreign elements for future developments is acknowledged. Both tactics of constructing a communal household in the public sphere, the architecture and the common food, are concerned with integrating two kinds of foreignness without diminishing either of them: the Jews' foreignness in the Diaspora, and the non-(orthodox) Jews' foreignness within the eruv's space. As the communal house created by the eruv is in the public domain, all people are included in it, even though the constant move of people in and out of the area creates an ever changing constellation of 'household members.' It is a 'private' place where everybody is welcome, not only the Jewish community. Although the boundary is fixed, for the entire time of a single Shabbat, the relationships inside are fluid. In this space of interaction, new relationships can be formed between both the members of the community but also between them and the larger prevailing community in the neighborhood.



Aspinwall Avenue and the MBTA fence: A pole is attached to each side of the fence of the overpass. The poles are further than usually towards the other side of the overpass away from the interior.



Notes:

- ¹ Seth Kunin, *God's Place in the World: Sacred Space and Sacred Place in Judaism*, (New York: Cassell, 1998).
- ² Rachel Adler, *Engendering Judaism*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), pp.105-168.
- ³ Julia Kristeva, *Stranger to Ourselves*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp.65-77.
- ⁴ Emmanuel Levinas, *Beyond the Verse: Talmudic Readings and Lectures*, "The Pact", (London: Athlone Press, 1994), pp.69-85.
- ⁵ Seth D. Kunin, p.44.
- ⁶ Ibid p.12.
- ⁷ Ibid., p.14.
- ⁸ Ibid., p.14.
- ⁹ Ibid. p.27. There are two narratives that relate to the holiness of Beth El. Genesis 35:1 "He built there an altar, and called the place El Beth El, because there God was revealed to him, when he fled from the face of his brother." In Genesis 28 Jacob dreams of God's presence and declares hence the place as sacred. In 1King 18:20-40 it is expressed that Mount Carmel was an established holy place, without an explanatory narrative.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p.29.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p.21.
- ¹² bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, (Boston: South End Press, 1990) p.150.
- ¹³ Trinh T.Minh-ha, "An Acoustic Journey", *Rethinking Borders*, John C. Welchman, ed., (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p.1.
- ¹⁴ Rachel Adler, p152.
- ¹⁵ Ibid, p.152, quoting Pardes, *Countertraditions in the Bible*, 144.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p.152.
- ¹⁷ Ibid, p.148, quoting, *The Book of Ruth*, verse 1.
- ¹⁸ Julia Kristeva, p.75.
- ¹⁹ Kristeva points out that the Hebrew term *ger* meaning stranger poses problems as it means "the one who has come to live within" or "resident", and at the same time the term includes also the idea of convert. As a convert, the stranger is neither estranged nor able to maintain his/her difference.
- ²⁰ Ibid, p.75.
- ²¹ Emmanuel Levinas,p.69-85.
- ²² Julia Kristeva, p.74.
- ²³ G.Moure, *Dan Graham*, (Barcelona: Fondacion Antonio Tapies, 1998), pp.99-100.
- ²⁴ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," lecture reprinted in *Diacritics*, Vol.16/1 1986, p.24.
- ²⁵ Book of Joshua, 8: 30-35..
- ²⁶ *Kitzur Schulchon Oruch*, Schlomo Ganzfried, ed., (New York: Moznaim Publishing Corporation, 1991), p.404.
- ²⁷ Rachel Adler, p.40.

Images:

G.Moure, *Dan Graham*, (Barcelona: Fondacion Antonio Tapies, 1998), pp.99-100.



Brookline Village station: The last two metal posts of the train system have plastic conduits attached to them and form with the existing cables a doorframe.



Opening Bound Space



What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These ‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.

Homi K. Bhabha¹

The previous discussion of the relationship of the eruv to the Tabernacle describes how the minimal physical presence of the eruv, can construct a very strong boundary with a negatively coded exterior and a positively coded interior. The Jewish legal division of the space into either public or private domains defined by the absence or presence of a boundary respectively, furthermore, eliminates any substantial liminality.² Within this dyadic system, the areas that are either public or private during the week are transformed on Shabbat into a single private area, instead of forming a third kind of space. Additional categorizations of people and spaces in an either-or system, which excludes any “thirthing,” can be found in orthodox Judaism, for example the absence of any in-between time between childhood and adulthood. Another spatial example is the *mezuzah*, an object that is attached at doorframes, that defines precisely the line between two spaces and destroys hence any fringe where they could mingle.

For some who object to the eruv, any boundary is necessarily an exclusionary practice which hampers the mixing between people. In their opinion, the introduction of the eruv boundary leads automatically to a segregated neighborhood, regardless of the physical character of the boundary. Any boundary is considered an unbridgeable barrier, dividing space into an inside and outside.

Both the Jewish strict categorization of spaces and people into an either-or system as well as the view that any boundary by definition constructs such an either-or system is questioned by looking at the interior of the eruv. A space of interaction arises inside the eruv, where the public sphere is not merely a backdrop but becomes the meeting place and site of interaction between all kinds of people.



From the last metal post before the pedestrian crossing, a wire is stretched to the Streetlight post. The eruv leaves here the MBTA system.



The introduction of a boundary at the edge, which is often viewed as exclusionary, makes the interior boundaries more permeable, nurturing interaction. With an eruv in place it is easier for orthodox Jews to move beyond their own private places into the streets and other more public sites, where they can encounter each other and people at random alike. Paradoxically, a potentially separating action establishes coherence within the community, and the legal eradication of interior boundaries (as the entire interior space is after Jewish legal law a single private domain on Shabbat) integrates the Jewish community further with the prevailing community in the neighborhood. The interior space of the eruv is at once private and public. While the common public domain continues to be public, it becomes more private because people move in the space (nearly) as freely as they do at home. The metaphorical connotations of the boundary and the communal food further transforms the public sphere into a phenomenologically more private place. The public sphere turns into a paradoxical space, where several readings are overlaid. The movement of people in and out of this space transgresses the division of public and private, creating a place of encounter for the entire neighborhood.

Perception of Boundaries

Liminal spaces are places of danger as much as places of possibility. They endanger the existing system by bridging categories, which also indicates their potential as mediating spaces. Opposing categories can meet in liminal spaces, allowing them to merge, creating new forms and new relations. Their indeterminacy is the source of their creative potential and their danger. They are unpredictable. (That is why many feminists in particular choose the liminal/paradoxical space for their site of intervention.) In Judaism, biblical liminal spaces were usually transformed in one direction, so that they did not pose any threat to the dyadic framework. For example, Mount Sinai bridged between heaven and earth creating a space where the two could meet (God and Moses). However, in order to deprive it of its 'liminal dangers,' it was transformed into a sacred space, to which access was strictly regulated.³ The absence of an in-between space appears as well in other aspects of the religion. Compared to other religions, the phase between childhood and adulthood is non-existent. At twelve and thirteen years respectively, girls and boys become full member of the community, even without a *Bat-* or *Bar-Mitzvah* ceremony. There is no in-between phase between the two conditions.

Another example for the elimination of a liminal space is the attachment of a *mezuzah*⁴ at doorframes, especially at the entrance doorframe. Entrance spaces and doorframes are liminal spaces where two different areas meet. This meeting place at the entrance of the exterior with the interior has been elaborated by the architectural language with the creation of spaces that feel neither interior nor exterior. For example, many buildings have exterior spaces in front of their entrances



Intersection of Pearl and Washington Streets: The eruv runs from the Brookline Village station along Pearl Street along maybe three Streetlight poles, then it crosses over Pearl Street . From Pearl Street the eruv crosses over Washington Street to another Streetlight pole on the right side of Washington Street.



that have some characteristics of an interior space by being sheltered or due to their material expression. On the other hand, one sometimes finds interior spaces like foyers that have an exterior atmosphere just inside the entrance. The entrance space creates a buffer zone in which one acclimatizes oneself. It is also a space with flexible rules, where one can decide each time anew whom to let in and how far. Doorframes between rooms have a similar character to these entrance spaces, only in a compressed form. In some modern buildings, the formal distinction between rooms with doorframes has been eliminated and the rooms flow into one another, creating huge liminal zones. But how does a *mezuzah* transform these entrance zones? It is clearer at the entrance doorframe than at doorframes between interior rooms, because the difference between adjacent internal and external spaces is larger. The interior space is considered a sacred zone, while the outside is profane. These two zones meet and mingle at the entrance. However, the placement of a *mezuzah* at the doorframe draws a clear line between exterior, profane space and interior, sacred space. At least from a certain religious point of view, such a line, like the boundary of the tabernacle, a *mezuzah*, and an eruv, controls and prevents all liminality.

Similarly, some outside orthodox Judaism consider boundaries as intrinsically separatist, and associate them with national borders. One group of opponents objects to the eruv for this reason. Regardless of the particular character of eruvim, they view any boundary as an unbridgeable barrier, opposing an open public realm that should be equally accessible for all groups in the neighborhood. Once a minority starts expressing their identity in public, they must defend or at least discuss their practices with those outside the minority, especially if they deal with concepts that have a very strong connotation of separation and exclusion. Any knowledge of practices of a minority, if it is only superficial, might be more damaging than ignorance, as misinterpretations can fuel the fear of the other and lead to further abjection.

In an article from 18th century Germany, the eruv is interpreted as follows: "[D]ue to the number of Jews living here [in Altona], who, according to mosaic law, are not allowed to stay in an un-enclosed or un-walled-in place overnight, one can find the so called Jew-gates [*Judenthore*]."⁵ While the "gates" have been noticed, they have been related to a fictive law. Jews are in fact allowed to stay in an un-enclosed space; they are only prohibited to carry between domains and in a public domain on Shabbat. The interpretation hints that the separation of the Jewish and the gentile population imposed by the local authorities was actually sought by the Jews. Although, one would think that people in our time live more mixed together, contemporary opponents interpret the eruv likewise as a ghetto construction. Gerald Kaufman, personally in favor of a more "relaxed Judaism," writes about the London eruv : "Environment Secretary John Gummer this week gave permission for an Orthodox Jewish Community in North London to create an eruv, an area fenced off from the sur-



Distance: eight walking hours – Crossing of Washington Street and River Road: The eruv follows the Streetlight poles. In the image the pole is inside the eruv while the Streetlight itself is outside the eruv. The wire runs between this pole and one further down the Street and at this point the eruv forms a corner and turns to the right hand side.



rounding streets for strict religious practices.... [He] has authorized ultra-orthodox Jews to create their own do-it-yourself ghetto....Tolerance – on both sides – requires understanding – on both sides. Fences stand in the way of understanding.”⁶ The concept of boundary is so overwhelming, that the minimal materiality of the boundary is not taken into consideration (only the “doorframes” are introduced into the urban fabric). An explanatory communication does not always take place and Edward Black, an eruv committee member [for the London eruv], admits that they might not have explained the eruv sufficiently: “An eruv is only of significance in our minds. The whole of Capitol Hill in Washington is within an eruv but nobody’s saying that the Jewish community there is in any sense making a territorial claim over them.”⁷ Kaufman’s interpretation of the eruv might also reflect his opinion that this particular minority does not integrate itself into the secular community in the way that he (and others) would like it. The dis-integration is projected onto the signification of the eruv and hence the boundary is perceived as preventing integration. It is paradoxical that on the one hand the eruv is believed to create an exclusionary area, in which only the orthodox Jewish community lives – as if in a ghetto – and on the other hand, people are concerned with integrating the different groups inside this area. Instead of addressing the issues of integration directly, the structure of a group that is considered exclusionary is met with exclusion. Neither the physicality of the boundary itself nor the bounded space and its character are addressed, either of which could be a starting point for discussions about integration and exchange.

Sites of Encounter

With an eruv, the additional structures introduced are doorframes (this seems to be the case for all contemporary eruvim). The walls of the eruvim are already existing breaks or walls in the urban fabric: highways, fences, water embankments and buildings. The breaches between the existing boundaries are connected with doorways, so that a continuous boundary is constructed. Passages in the city fabric are hence marked by symbols of passage and encounter – doorframes, although one could claim that the doorways might function like a wall for the orthodox Jewish community. Boundaries are not necessarily physical or mental barriers, and one needs to look beyond the stereotypical definition to see their enabling character, as Linda Pollak points out:

A more thoughtful consideration of boundaries could enable them to become places where things are designed to meet and to happen. Yet how is a modern desire for open spaces to be registered within and against the measured limits of the city? One place to begin framing this question is to examine a practice that in its acknowledgment of boundaries demonstrates which horizons can be drawn into a bounded space.⁸



Pond Avenue: The eruv crosses sides following the Streetlights. The wire for the eruv is attached at the top of the light poles.



While the eruv presents a symbolic boundary separating space into an inside and outside, it opens up possibilities at the interior. The eruv as a boundary frees the Jewish community to engage with all kinds of people in the public realm by facilitating movement into the area outside the homes. Without an eruv, the general public would encounter the Jewish community even less. Parents (most often the mothers) of young children, the elderly, and some disabled people, might not be able to leave their homes on Shabbat because they are not allowed to use strollers, canes etc. Similarly, people are less likely to visit other people without an eruv in place, as they would need to worry about not carrying. By focusing on the bound space and not only on the boundary, one opens up a space for interaction that can be engaged by the Jewish community and the prevailing communities in the area alike. While it surely promotes solidarity within the Jewish community, it is unclear to what extent an eruv actually encourages the integration of the orthodox Jewish community within the larger community. The existing and proposed spaces that will be discussed in the remainder of the chapter (and those that have already been discussed in the thesis) can be a step towards more diverse encounters and solidarity within a neighborhood.

Although the concept of the public sphere is more diffuse at its edges than the legal Jewish public domain, I propose that the two overlap at substantial areas.⁹ Both the Jewish and the secular public are transformed into a Jewish private domain by interjecting the Jewish legal architecture (the boundary) and the communal food for the eruv. This also transforms the public sphere on a phenomenological level, it becomes more private feeling, and a third kind of space emerges. The privatization of the public sphere refers usually to the commercialization and control of the public realm by individuals or groups, like the control of access to spaces like shopping malls or gated communities. The privatization of an urban area with the eruv is rather different. It is a symbolic privatization and is not an increased control over the space but an heightened feeling of home in the sense that the public becomes more accessible and that people are more closely connected.

The introduction of a boundary at the perimeter of the space changes the legal status of the interior space on Shabbat when the boundary is confirmed to be continuous (the boundary gets checked and repaired every week before Shabbat), because a bound space is according to Jewish law a private domain. During the weekday, both public and private domains are in the interior, but on Shabbat, all the spaces are united into a single private domain due to the presence of the exterior boundary and the communal food. The streets are affected by this because buildings are private domains during the week and during Shabbat. Only the status of the streets changes; during the week the streets are a public domain and on Shabbat they are a private domain. These readings merge through the passage of time, and a paradoxical notion of the streets comes forth. Although the legal status of the entire area on the inside changes, its physicality is not affected. The status of the



Intersection of Pond Avenue and Allerton Street: The Streetlight poles change from being made of concrete to wooden poles. The left door post from this symbolical doorframe is made of concrete, while the right one is made of wood.



interior as a private domain can physically only be encountered at the edge, the boundary itself, there are no visual traces at the interior. And even the boundary has only a minimal visual presence. As the Boston eruv boundary is so large, hardly anyone will check personally the entire eruv boundary for its continuity and hence validity. Unless one checks the eruv oneself every week, the only way to find out if the eruv is “up” (valid for Shabbat) is by calling an “eruv hotline” which will announce if the eruv is “up” or “down.” The status of the eruv is also published on web pages. The encounter with the eruv’s physicality is most often removed from the physical to a verbal level. The verbal announcement of the eruv’s status replaces a direct engagement with its physicality. This continues the tradition of the laws of the eruv, which have been transmitted and discussed over the last two thousand years chiefly in a verbal format and not through visual examples.

The legal status of the interior as private manifests itself physically in the presence of a boundary. However, some readings of the eruv are not accessible through the physicality of the eruv, for example the notion of the entire space constituting a symbolic home for the community. The metaphorical and phenomenological spaces of the eruv are not obvious just by walking along the boundary. In a space as large as the Boston eruv, the legal definition of the space is separate from the phenomenological experience of the eruv’s space. One does not get the feeling of being in a private space just by being inside the eruv. The feelings associated with a private domain arise instead through the knowledge of the existence of the boundary, and along with that, the knowledge of the legal definitions that a bound space is a private domain. Even then, the space might not have any feeling of privateness, of protection, of a home, of a place of belonging, of a site of resistance. On a smaller scale, like a house, the physicality can be directly related to the phenomenological experience of the bound space as private. In order for the eruv to evoke these feelings, non-tangible spaces need to be constructed and superimposed over the physical spaces of the interior and basing themselves on the religious and secular associations and implications of the eruv boundary and the eruv food. When one considers the physical and the non-material spaces of the eruv together, the simplistic view that the boundary is just a separating element is transcended.

When a boundary that is associated with territorial claims of belonging is introduced into the urban fabric it does not necessarily create an exclusionary space. The space inside the Boston eruv is inhabited not only by Jews but by all kinds of people. The Boston eruv covers parts of Boston, Brookline, and Newton, and all the people living and traversing through these neighborhoods are included in the symbolic house. The space inside the eruv, although it is neither only inhabited by Jews nor separate from the remainder of the city, has some of the positive qualities of separatist spaces. Although separatist notions are very problematic, Gillian Rose points out that “separatism is offered, paradoxically, as a means of thinking about coalition and resistance.”¹⁰ Some feminists



Intersection of Warren and Walnut Streets: The eruv goes from the left side to the right side and crosses then back to the left side. Because the eruv crosses the Street and then crosses back over, one is not able to walk inside it. at this point, the eruv does not switch sides with a wire, but the utility cables change sides, too.



(and people from other marginalized groups) have argued for women (minority)-only spaces, to strengthen the identity and confidence of women (minorities), before they start opening themselves up and think and work towards coalition. The eruv is not a separatist space, but often the first influence an eruv has on the (orthodox) Jewish community is that it will focus more on itself as a community. An area with an eruv will attract young families, as they can use strollers on Shabbat, who bring life to a community. An eruv makes it easier for all members of the community to go to communal events on Shabbat, like attending services in the synagogue, forging a sense of community. Especially for women, the enabling aspects of eruv help them to create new communal ties. Often, after an eruv has been constructed, women, especially those with young children, start forming stronger bonds by meeting each other during Shabbat. A pattern seems to emerge in North American communities with eruv; once an eruv is in place, and the younger generation of women get to know each other better, they take the next step and form study groups, giving women access to the laws that govern their lives. Orthodox women do not have access to the implementation of laws nor to rabbinical decision making. However, an eruv opens the realistic possibility for them to meet and study together, which is the first step towards their active engagement in the decision making process, while remaining within orthodox Judaism. While it is important to focus towards the own community for a while to help form communal and individual ties between people, the “coalition with other groups is important to avoid the chauvinism of exclusion”.¹¹ The public sphere, the streets are transformed by the eruv and become the sites of encounter, where these coalitions can be formed.

A bound space that is considered a private domain evokes associations with “commonly” considered private spaces like houses or apartments. These associations are projected onto the urban, creating a house of quite a different scale. The symbolic eradication of the boundaries between the private domains and the ease of movement into the streets further nourish this association. The communal food makes another contribution to the symbolic establishment of a household in the public sphere. The *eruv chazerot* (the food) is made by one person granting a share in the food to an agent, who represents all the people inside the eruv. It is important that the agent should not be from the person’s immediate family. In the same way as the private sphere is extended into the public one, the family membership is extended to those outside the immediate family, who are probably outside the person’s private domain. It thus extends the person’s family into the public sphere, and establishes a household that bridges between the private and the public.

The memories provoked by the eruv boundary and the eruv food, which all have connotations of common private realms, infiltrate the Jewish legal private domain, still common public sphere, with the characteristics of a private space. The infiltration of the public space by the private



Near 185 Warren Street : The eruv switches with the utility lines from the left side to the right side.



space is accompanied by the physical infiltration of people from their private places into public places. The physical presence of others like them is an assertion of their Jewish heritage within the different majority cultures of the Diaspora. The visual contact links the individuals to each other like a web, whose threads are glimpses, creating a sense of community within the public sphere. This web, because it is constructed within the common public space, is connected to a larger web of random encounters, which links the Jewish community to the larger prevailing community in the neighborhood. These social interactions are then extended from the (common) public sphere into private spaces, strengthening a sense of community even further. By including and meeting others within the symbolic house created on an urban scale by the eruv, possibilities develop to extend these encounters into private houses, too. While the public sphere is subverted with private connotations, the private sphere is challenged and opened to the infiltration by previous unfamiliar people.

The introduction of a boundary at the edge makes the interior boundaries more permeable, so that more people move into the streets where they encounter not only people from their own community but anybody in the street at random. The eruv transforms the city into a space of encounter, as it frees people to leave their houses, encouraging them to leave their own spaces to enter more communal spaces in the public realm. Life is brought to the streets, not only as a place of passage but also as a meeting place. This space I am constructing for the eruv offers an alternative to the kind of privatization of the public sphere that takes place in malls or gated communities, and the city itself becomes a site instead of a mere backdrop for private spaces. Paradoxically, the creation and maintenance of borders by the eruv, transcends internal borders, opening the interior space for encounters between people.

When one looks at the interior space of the eruv, not only from a Jewish legal perspective, where the entire area constitutes a private domain on Shabbat, and consider other, phenomenological, readings, a third kind of space emerges. The two different views of the public realm, the Jewish legal one and the phenomenological one, resemble the following examples. In the Jewish legal sense, the character of the private places flows into the streets till the entire area inside the eruv is a legal private domain. This image contrasts with the phenomenological image of the eruv, which is like a place where two fluids are mixed, one yellow and one blue, and the resulting mixed fluid is neither yellow nor blue but instead of another kind, green (and not necessarily homogeneously green). Of course there is also every person's individual reading of different zones inside the area. A paradoxical impression originates in the mixing of these spatial layers within the people's minds. The streets become something else, they are transformed into a meeting place that is much more personal than a generic public space but much more public than a house. The new relationships initiated in the world beyond one's own private space might infiltrate the common sense private realm,



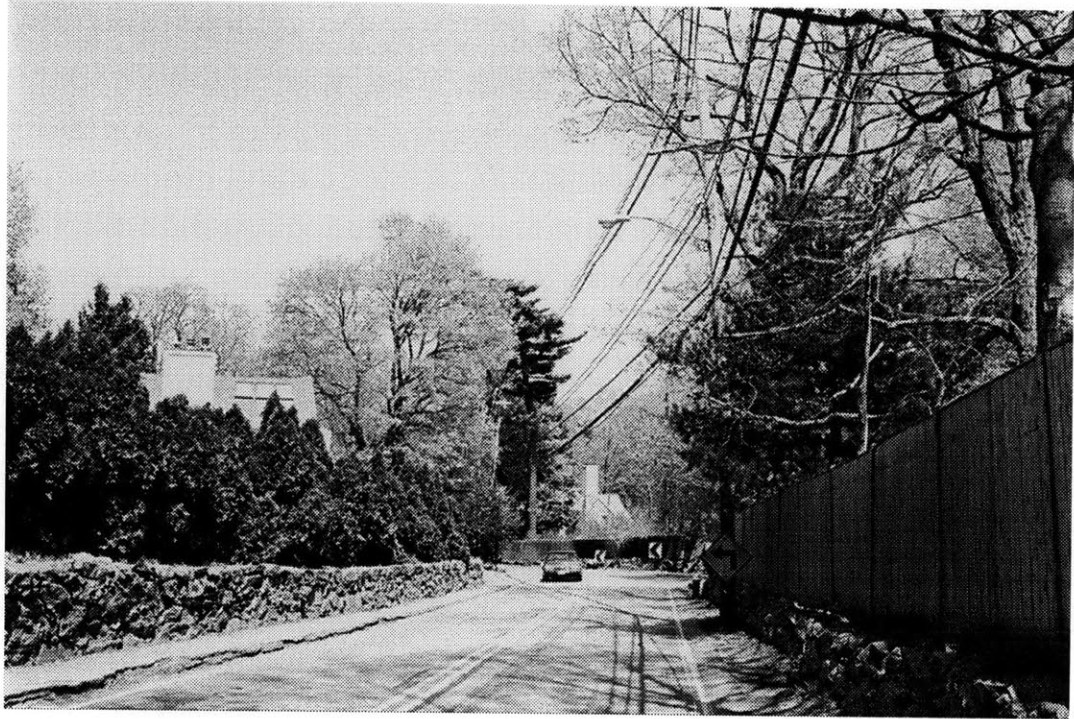
Near 185 Warren Street : The eruv switches directly from the right side to the left side back again. At this point it is not possible to walk inside the eruv along the Street. One can only walk inside the eruv by crossing through the property of 185 Warren Street.



stretching the liminal space between places and connecting them.

The interior space of the eruv, despite its legal definition as completely private, is at once private and public. In the private space created, differences between spaces remain. Certain activities are still restrained to those spaces with which they have been associated during the week; people will continue to sleep inside buildings, not in the streets. While the common public realm continues to be public, it also becomes more private because it is inside the symbolic house created by the eruv. Inside this house, the spaces become also more private due to the personal and physical interactions between people. Furthermore, the architecture and the food of the eruv evoke memories of private spaces. The streets in their existing physical form already create a phenomenological space. The phenomenological space created by the eruv is separate yet interwoven with the pre-existing phenomenological space. The streets are exclusively private from a legal perspective, they are public according to the common phenomenological experience, and something else when considered Jewish phenomenologically. However, when these perspectives are overlaid the streets become a paradoxical space, based on concepts of public and private, but whose character goes beyond this dichotomy. Bhabha's description of an-Other space illustrates well the eruv's interior space. "The borders between home and world became confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public became part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting."¹²

The introduction of the physical eruv boundary at the edge, transforms and creates metaphorical and phenomenological spaces in the interior. Although all the spaces described are non-tangible ones with the exception of the eruv boundary, they are still associated with real and physical spaces and they influence how people behave in the material world inside the eruv. Those "new" spaces are sometimes in opposition to the already existing spaces, physical or metaphorical. However, one cannot dissociate the layer of the eruv with the layer of the city, and all these spaces co-exist in some form or another; at certain points the layers might be stitched together, form a pleat, or an air pocket might form between the layers. I imagine these stitches, and pockets and pleats like Bhabha's in-between space. "The interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy."¹³ In these paradoxical spaces that are at once physical and phenomenological, new kinds of interactions can take place. The imagination and recognition of the non-physical spaces can lead to the opening of boundaries in the real spaces of the city, where new identities can be formed and lived that bridge between different cultures.



Distance: nine walking hours – Intersection Warren Street and Lee Street: In the entire area the utility lines often switch sides.



By an intervention at the edge, the entire status of the inside changes. The status of the streets and parks changes, while their physicality remains untouched. The legal private status of the space inside the eruv is disconnected from sight. There are visual clues to the presence of the eruv at the perimeter but no restrictions in sight occur once the eruv becomes valid for Sabbath. One can only have a tactile relationship to the "real and imagined" spaces created by the eruv at its periphery, which is its physical trace. Many people who appreciate the eruv may never come near the eruv boundary during Sabbath, and for them it is the certain knowledge (that the eruv is up) that changes how they use the space. The eruv boundary has been reduced to the minimum materiality, and the stringent construction rules and weekly checks assure that its physicality will not diminish over time. Without the eruv boundary, the physical indication of the non-tangible spaces would vanish, and no new phenomenological spaces that change the social milieu of the interior could come forth.

Most interpretations of the eruv have focused on the boundary because it is the most physical part of the eruv. The communal food, perhaps due to its small scale in relationship to the boundary and its storage in a place where it cannot easily be encountered by the public, is often completely overlooked. The boundary, when analyzed in relationship to other orthodox Jewish practices, excludes any in-between spaces. Many within the orthodox Jewish community see the eruv as a tool that helps them to focus inward on their own community. Similarly, some of the objectors to the eruv feel that any boundary in the urban environment is solely about territoriality and prevents integration and the mixing between groups. A reading of the eruv in relationship to the concept of paradoxical spaces disputes these interpretations based on dyadic perspectives. It analyzes not only the boundary with its negative connotations but looks also at the interior, although the interior physicality is not directly affected by the eruv boundary. A paradoxical space emerges, when the different readings of the existing and proposed spaces, the physical and non-tangible spaces, co-exist. Within this paradoxical space new identities and coalitions are forged.

The physical boundary influences the legal and phenomenological status of the interior space, without directly changing its physicality, which in turn is affected by the non-tangible spaces. The boundary and the communal food are the starting point of an association chain, that associates a bound space with a protective interior space, which is, in combination with the communal food, associated with a place of belonging. These metaphors are then projected onto the city, transforming the city into a home for the Jewish community. The symbolic house is constructed with existing elements from the site and the Jewish eruv elements that are introduced into the urban fabric, creating a symbiotic architecture. Within this house, the Jewish community resides in their contemporaneous time and their own history simultaneously, connecting them to the local communities and the Jewish communities around the world alike. The nomadic construction methods and the stationary



Intersection of Dunster Road and Boylston Street: The eruv crosses with the utility lines over Boylston Street. I have the feeling that I am leaving the suburban. It is not urban here but at least busy.



symbolism of the structure create a place of belonging that can be deployed at any site but still creates a connectivity to that particular site. Within the symbolic house, everybody is accepted and people can move in and out through the symbolic doorframes. Furthermore, the communal food, extends a symbolic family membership to those outside one's own family, creating a single household which bridges the boundaries between public and private. Inside, the movement from private places into more communal places is eased, and turns the streets into meeting places. The encounters in the streets infiltrate the private places and vice versa. A web of connectivity develops between the Jewish community, the city and all the people living and moving inside the eruv. This provides a terrain where new identities and coalitions are formed and contested.



Intersection of Hammond Street and Middlesex Road: The eruv crosses Hammond Street and goes up the hill where it connects back to the MBTA fence. The poles are difficult to see as they are covered from the view from the inside of the eruv by trees. There is only one cable, which runs through the trees, that connects the two poles. I think that this cable is already used for the utility system, because the wires introduced for the eruv are usually very thin.



Notes:

¹ Homi Bhabah, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p1.

² One could claim that the three different kinds of public domains present a version of liminality. However, the *carmelis* and the *exempt area* do not play a significant role in the distinction of domains, and in my opinion they do not represent significant liminal spaces.

³ Seth Kunin, *God's Place in the World: Sacred Space and Sacred Place in Judaism*, (New York: Cassell, 1998), p.30.

⁴ A *mezuzah* is a small object containing a parchment that is attached to the right door post.

⁵ All translations from Peter Freimark translated by author. Traveling Journal from 1789, cited in Peter Freimark, "Eruw/<Judentore>. Zur Geschichte einer rituellen Institution im Hamburger Raum," *Hamburger Beitrage Zur Geschichte Der Deutschen Juden, Band IX*, (Hamburg: Hans Christian Verlag, 1983), p.23

⁶ Gerald Kaufman, "The Danger of Creating Your Own Ghettos," *Daily Mail*, 24. September 1994, p.26.

⁷ David Sharrock, "On The Dividing Line," *The Guardian* (London: February 24, 1993), p.2.

⁸ Linda Pollak, "Partially Open Spaces, Boundary Events, and Transitional Objects," *Appendix 5* (1999): p.3. The practice alluded to is not the eruv but the paintings of Morisot.

⁹ The change of the public sphere and its privatization and commercialization, and its role for individual cultures is beyond the scope of this thesis. I will consider on a very basic level streets and the like as public spaces and show how these are influenced by the Jewish concepts of public and private domains. For a discussion of public/private spheres see: Nancy Duncan, "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces," *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender*, (London Routledge, 1996).

¹⁰ Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p.153.

¹¹ Quoted in Gillian Rose, p.153.

¹²Homi Bhabha, p.9.

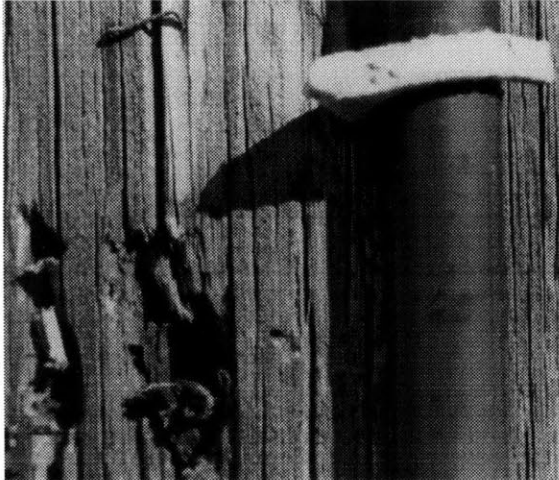
¹³ Ibid, p.4.



Distance: ten walking hours – Hammond Pond Parkway over the MBTA line : On the left of the MBTA fence a pole is attached and a wire runs from the pole to the left and connects to one of the trees. I could not see if the wire attaches to more trees, nor do I know why the doorframe with one pole and a tree is needed at all, as it leaves the fence system, which forms the eruv boundary.



An-Other Eruv



Spaces can be real and imagined. Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated, and transformed through artistic and literary practice.

bell hooks¹

In contemporary discourse, space is seen as central not only for the maintenance of power but also for resistance against it. Architecture does not simply represent power, but it is, as Foucault defines it, a spatial expression of social relations which allows either for the expansion of power or alternatively for resistance.² Through forming and expressing one's own voice, an individual or a community can challenge existing power structures in two ways: through the re-interpretation of existing spaces and through the construction of new spaces in accordance with one's own voice. A Jewish community creates its own spaces and meaning within the public sphere by constructing an eruv, thereby objecting to the monopoly to construct meaning by those in power. My analysis of the eruv, in turn, presents an interpretation which comes from a point of view outside the group, usually rabbis and always men, that is entrusted to interpret the tradition from within orthodox Judaism. Both the existing and the proposed spaces of the eruv are empowering for a Jewish community. Although an eruv is rooted in Jewish law, the space that results from it could potentially be divorced from the law and developed further and in different contexts, so that it can be used as empowering spatial tools by others.



Distance: eleven walking hours – Intersection of Glen avenue and MBTA fence: A pole is attached at the fence before the overpass a wire connects this pole to the utility pole next to it



Power Structures and Interpretation

The absence of an analysis of the eruv in the architectural discourse and the analysis of this structure within Judaism exemplify the same power structures. The relationship between the dominant (Western) culture and the subculture (Judaism) is reflected in the analysis of religious Jewish spaces by the general critical discourse about religious architecture. Only those spaces that have an equivalent within the dominant culture have been recognized as religious Jewish spaces, and have been analyzed as cultural objects. Hence only the synagogue and the temple (as the predecessor of the synagogue) as analogies to the church have been recognized and discussed. Structures like the eruv, despite its spatiality and religious meanings, have been excluded from this discourse, as they are overlooked by a discourse that is only constructed from the point of view of the dominant group. Furthermore, I would like to claim that the eruv is the construction of a unique narrative that situates the identity of the subculture in the center, and challenges the power and the constructions of meaning of the dominant group. Unsurprisingly, the dominant culture has excluded this empowering structure from its critical discourse about religious structures.

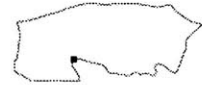
The same power structure and its influence on the construction of meaning can be found in the relationship between the dominant elements within the subculture and the oppressed elements in the subculture. Within Judaism, the eruv has only been analyzed with regard to its religious significance, but not with regard to its meaning as a spatial and social construct. Many bookshelves can be filled with books spanning a 2000 year discourse about the rules governing eruvim. The wealth of these kinds of discussions is contrasted with the few articles that probe the eruv from a different perspective. The rereading of the eruv as a cultural object is in itself a tool for empowerment for those voices (within Judaism) that have been excluded previously. Alternative discourses are emerging, where the dominant, hegemonic readings from both the dominant culture and the dominant groups in orthodox Judaism are challenged by a pluralistic reading. These readings open up spaces for a critical discourse that goes beyond a dyadic approach towards identity and culture.

One problemat of the marginalized groups is that they are often rendered invisible by the meta-narrative of the hegemonic culture. In turn, due to their marginalized position, they are compelled to construct their (outside) structures as invisible as possible or as temporary structures. Structures became less material and more symbolic. The eruv has been reduced to the minimum materiality needed to support the rich symbolic encoding of the structure. The invisibility and the high level of symbolic encoding often makes the structures illegible for the uninitiated view. It is important to make visible to others both the communities or individuals as well as their invisible structures to encourage communication between different peripheral groups to form alliances of resistance.

The discussion of the eruv in relationship to its origin in Jewish law and history, as well as its



Glen Avenue: The eruv crosses over Glen avenue with the utility lines and continues along Glen Avenue on the right hand side.



relationship to an interdisciplinary body of thought open the eruv to a contemporary encounter. Especially the concept of paradoxical spaces facilitates the development of many spatial layers, which create a much richer encounter with the eruv than the dyadic laws by themselves. It also allows for historic readings to signify along with new interpretations. The existing and proposed spaces of the eruv go beyond the religious context and are offered to a wider audience.

The eruv's physical elements are only at the edge of the bound area, and there are no physical traces of its presence in the interior (except the stored and hence invisible communal food). These physical elements are the foundation for constructing the metaphorical and phenomenological spaces, which in turn influence the behavior of people. This can then lead to the reconsideration of the practice of the construction of the physical spaces at the interior, and thus the eruv boundary at the edge ultimately influences the physical world at the interior. We thus notice "the locus of an 'other' kind of making."³

The eruv demonstrates that urban boundaries don't need to be physical, and exhibits an effectiveness of a modest amount of materiality. It constructs astonishing mental spaces with minimal physicality. Without much intervention it offers an alternative interpretation of the urban. The notion that a group can influence a large space by introducing very small nearly invisible elements at the edge is a very powerful realization that can be helpful for other groups, too. In this time of mass migration, many reside in histories of Diasporas and physically changing geographies. The intersections of these emerging geographies, give space to new identities, which have yet unaccounted for needs for place-making tools. The thoughts outlined in the thesis provide a framework for their (or my) design interventions for a site of encounter. Before turning to the possibilities of adaptation of those spaces by others, I would like to summarize them and describe how they are empowering for a Jewish community itself.

The Eruv as a Space of Empowerment

The tradition of eruv has been kept alive for 2000 years by a community which has resided in the Diaspora for most of its history. This condition is reflected in the nomadic navigation of space the eruv provides. An eruv can be a tool for a community to navigate a foreign place. A city needs to be walked in order to find out where to place an eruv and which existing structures could be integrated into the eruv boundary. The (Jewish) community learns the urban rules of a particular place by translating the laws that govern eruv into site-specific architecture. Both the horizontal and vertical plane of the urban are navigated. One has to look for structures that do provide the height needed in order to attach the symbolic doorframes to them. Walking the city with a particular task in mind mediates between being local and foreign, because a local person is someone who knows a



Boylston Street near Langley Road: In theory the eruv could go from Langley road straight to Boylston Street. However, there are no wires between the last pole on Langley road (intersection of Jackson Street) and the next pole on Boylston Street. So the eruv crosses the Street and goes to the left down to Boylston Street. After it meets Boylston Street it continues along Boylston Street in the opposite direction.



place and its rules. Walking in a city also relates the urban scale back to a bodily scale. Although one looks for structures to be incorporated into an eruv boundary, an eruv is not fixed to specific points in a coordinate system but is predominantly organized around people. As an eruv is not only about the location of a particular person, but about a community, and a community needs to be found(ed) and its members located in the city. This suffices to construct a sense of community. The demography of every community changes continuously and an eruv can theoretically change every week accommodating the demographic changes. The communal food emphasizes further the flexible territoriality, which is based neither on birthright nor on ownership claims. A person belongs to the place wherever his/her food is. Hence, a community can construct a place of belonging by placing the eruv boundary and the communal food at any particular site. As both elements for the eruv are transportable, they can construct a place of belonging at any given site that is still closely tied to the particular site of deployment. The navigation of space with an eruv allows a Jewish community to find their own manner of relating to a foreign place and thus overcomes the foreignness of that place. The organization around the community prevents the disintegration and complete assimilation of the community in a (potentially hostile) environment.

On the other hand, an eruv is not an hermeneutic, extrinsic element that is inserted into the urban fabric, but it rather creates a symbiotic space. The eruv, as a specifically Jewish space is overlaid over the topography of a city, and the two spatial layers connect at the physical elements of the eruv boundary. The poles, wires, and plastic conduits (*lechi*) connect directly to existing urban structures. In the same way that they graft Jewish spaces onto existing spaces, they graft a Jewish narrative onto the existing narratives. The narratives created by the eruv and the ones from the mundane urban structures are combined at these real and physical points. The eruv's architectural language originates in the laws that govern it, which all the Jewish communities around the world share. By incorporating these laws into their everyday lives, any orthodox Jewish community becomes part of a larger community, tied together by a common body of laws and a common history. Simultaneously, an eruv connects the Jewish community to its contemporaneous time and to the community and the place in which they experience it, because the elements of an eruv are usually connected to or made of existing structures like a city wall. A place of belonging is constructed where they reside in different timeframes and spaces at once.

Furthermore, within an eruv there are different scales of a place of belonging – a home. There is each person's individual house or apartment but there is also the symbolic house created by the eruv boundary. An eruv induces connectivity to three scales of places and its people: one's own house and family, the symbolic house of the city and its communities, and the larger orthodox Jewish community around the world. The concurrent relationship to real and imagined spaces representing



Distance: twelve walking hours –Eliot Station. The eruv follows the wooden poles that cross over the parking lot and connect to a pole next to the fence of the MBTA. From here the eruv runs along the fence.



different timeframes and places supports multi-faceted notions of selfhood and identity. This challenges the categorization of people as belonging to only one place and community, and opens up a discussion of how to define belonging and how to envision places of connectivity.

For these places and the people residing there, an ethics of foreignness needs to be developed that addresses one's (or a group's) own foreignness in a Diaspora and the foreignness of others within one's own space. Individual spheres need to be combined with spaces of coalition. Foreign elements must be included into any geography in order to stimulate transformation, without which they eventually become exclusionary. The new geographies outlined for the eruv need an ethics of foreignness. Such an ethics is not inherent to the eruv but is instead developed from the readings of the Book of Ruth and the Pact, and then related to the eruv. The spatial ethics intrinsic to a symbiotic place(s) of connectivity develops through the ethics of foreignness into a more social (people-related) ethics. With an eruv, the introduction of a boundary at the edge erases the legal point boundaries between interior spaces, and symbolically along with them the boundaries between people. A seemingly exclusionary practice to the outside establishes coherence at the interior and nurtures interaction between all kinds of people. The symbolic house delineated by the eruv boundary includes all spaces, no matter who resides inside them. Not only the Jewish community is included in this communal house but all the people living and traversing in the area. Those that do not care about the eruv can move freely in and out of the area through the many doorframes of the boundary. The permeability of the exterior and interior boundaries allows for a constant influx of foreign elements, which makes for a site of diverse encounters. All of the people are included in the symbolic household, which has an ever changing membership. The communal food ties them all together. For a responsible, pluralistic society it is not enough to form a community, and the symbolic pooling of resources raises questions of responsibility for others who are beyond one's immediate family. The communal food implies that one should take care of all the people inside the symbolic house in the same way one would take care of one's immediate family. The theme of the communal food could be extended and within the context of an eruv, a larger amount of communal food (and other resources) could be set aside for the needy within the community. An eruv creates a household that is fluid and consistently transformed by the influx of foreign elements. At the same time, the communal food implies that those that are present at any given time need to be taken care of and that the fluidity of membership does not exempt people from these obligations. To accept and care for all members in its midst strengthens a community greatly in the end.

The eruv creates a site of encounter by transforming the public spaces, especially the streets into meeting places where new relationships can be formed, which then infiltrate the private spaces and diversify those, too. The public sphere is legally turned into a private domain through the intro-



Distance: **thirteen walking hours** – I made it once around: MBTA fence and Chestnut Street.



duction of the eruv boundary, which leads to the ease of movement of people into the streets as they do not need to worry about not carrying. The projection of the associations of the boundary and the communal food with private places onto the streets gives them also a phenomenologically more private feeling. The eruv frees people to move into the streets and see and meet each other there, transforming the streets into more personal sites. They are encouraged to leave their individual private places and move into the more communal spaces of the streets, and contest communal identities. The visual contact between people of a minority living within a majority culture strengthens their sense of community and helps them to form political ties for resistance, because seeing one's own community in the streets makes a potentially hostile environment less threatening. The web of glimpses constructed in the public does not only strengthen the identity of the minority community but connects them also to the prevailing community of a neighborhood. Furthermore, their visual presence in the public realm challenges the homogenization of the public sphere by those in power and promotes a diverse public sphere. The presence of one's own structures in the public, and the overlay of narratives that comes along with such an act, deprives a public of its hostile, homogeneous character, where different narratives and their authors are present publicly the notion of a subject can emerge in which different experiences are woven together and unintended encounters become a source of knowledge.

In our time of mass migration, many reside in histories of Diasporas and physically changing geographies. Those that remain at a particular location are often intimidated by the rupture, fragmentation and discontinuity with old geographies, which could instead be transformed politically from weakness into opportunity and strength. At the intersections of new, spatially changing geographies, polyvocal subjects emerge who might adapt or transform the existing and proposed paradoxical spaces of the eruv to create their own empowering spatial tool.

Especially for people who reside in a Diasporic conditions, it is important to form a coalition with others and formulate a community. For the eruv, this community is defined by the affiliation to a particular religion, but for other imagined "eruvim" the affiliation with a community could and should be much more fluid. The members of such a community need to be mapped within a city, not to locate them in a finite system but to develop a space that evolves around them. Thus, a territoriality of people takes shape that is independent of ownership claims, juridical boundaries, and birth rights.

These communities and individuals need to develop their individual systems for the navigation of space. As each is different, they cannot share a generic place making tool. However, they can share some of the concepts and spaces about the nomadic navigation of space as a starting point, some of which are illuminated in this thesis by means of the eruv. Places of connectivity must be constructed that relate both to their histories of Diaspora and specific sites. At every location, the

sites at hand need to be overlaid with spaces that are fluid, contextual, and constructed by the particular communities residing there, so that they create a place of connectivity. These sites need to relate to different places, times and communities, shaping places that are in the past, present, and future, where memory is not stored in dead sites (like museums) but becomes part of the everyday, connecting people to their histories and providing a fertile ground for their future.

Within these new spatial relations, a need for a 'geography of difference' has been expressed where the relations of difference can be described in ways other than hierarchical dominance. Through the overlay of one's own, subjective narratives over existing structures spaces can emerge that are neither marginal nor central. The symbiotic construction of one's own narratives can be used by an interpretative community as a tool of empowerment that can connect distant geographies. These sites need to be based on an inclusive ethics, where the foreigner within oneself as well as foreign elements are included into the community.

The visual presence of one's own structures as well as the visual contact between people strengthens any community. Urban spaces need to be developed where encounters between people can take place in the public. This diminishes the potentially hostile character of a place especially for a minority, and promotes the public as a site where they can move freely. Thus the public can become a site for diverse encounters that are not precontrived, connecting a minority community to the prevailing community and encouraging the infiltration of the minority by foreign elements. Public sites need to be developed that are neither assimilative, imitative, nor deprecated as exotic.

Hegemonic power structures built upon a singular narrative are being challenged by positions that suggest that meaning is fluid, contextual and constructed by interpretative communities that are placed differently and have different reactions to the same text. Through the emergence of geographies of culture, race, gender, class, and others, traditional geographies are challenged by a shift from the 'grand narratives' of a central voice to the voices of multiple, marginal and polycentric communities. In spaces that are mapped by this 'politics of location,' the transparency of space, which has so often been used to erase differences, is rejected and replaced by a concept of space that is multidimensional, fragmented, paradoxical, and continuously transforming. This concept of space needs to be translated into spatial expressions that represent these communities within already existing spaces, especially public ones. There must be sites within our cities, where different narratives are overlaid and existing structures are transformed or appropriated for these new narratives. We need to find material expression for these changing geographies and their layered narratives. There is a need for a creative combination of spatial metaphors and materiality for an empowering spatial practice; otherwise the metaphors remain merely metaphorical.

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¹bell hook, *Yearning: Race, gender, and Cultural Politics*, (Boston: South End Press, 1990), p.152.

²Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1998) p.429.

³ Andrea Kahn, "Overlooking: a Look at How We Look at Site or... Site as 'Discrete Object' of Desire," *Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*, D.McCorquodale, K.Ruedi, and S.Wigglesworth, eds., (London: Black Dog Publishing Limited, 1996), p.177.

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